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QUESTS FOR SALVATION IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT IN THE
GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL

BY
CHARLES JAMES RITCHEY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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INTRODUCTION

Many attempts have been made to present the salvation beliefs of the New Testament or of its individual writers through the medium of New Testament theologies or treatises dealing with the teachings of selected authors. The prevailing tendency, sometimes contrary to the expectations and desires of the investigators, has been to isolate the material under consideration or at least to relate it to its total environment only under stress of necessity. The assumption seems to have been that sufficient data were available to enable one to reconstruct in terms of modern thought, or at least in terms intelligible to the present day, the doctrine used by the individual in question, on the basis of its being a more or less closed system evolved as such chiefly in the mind and experience of the one leader. Hence it was natural to seek to show that the teachings were logically consistent. Starting with such assumptions as these and actuated by a desire to use or test the results as normative, as correct, as authoritatve, theologians have not found it impossible to discover consistent, well-wrought systems of doctrine. But unfortunately there is a likelihood of gaps being bridged by the introduction of subjective data, in proportion as there is present an apologetic interest or a desire to establish a norm to which the ancient author corresponds, if indeed the norm is not found within his authoritative utterances.

The method adopted in this study is intended to obviate some of the difficulties which repeatedly arise in the practice of starting with the material to be investigated as in any way self-explanatory. That is, the subject of New Testament soteriology can not be studied adequately by starting with the New Testament records as containing a closed system capable of being interpreted in the light of their own statements. What is seen is

a quest for salvation that was socially conditioned, and it becomes necessary to determine what those conditions were and the use made of them in furthering the quest. That solutions of the problem of salvation in the form of systems of thought were often offered by early Christians, is at once obvious. They are, however, most intelligible as the creation, generally temporary and immediate, of earnest seekers after salvation, creations made in response to social stimuli, out of such religious interpretations as were at hand. Thus Paul, who has very frequently been credited with having given a doctrine of salvation more or less consistent, must be studied as the leading representative of a group of Christians who came out of primitive Christianity into contact with the new stimuli in the Gentile world, and sought to interpret the religious thought which they already possessed in such a way as to satisfy those new needs of their Hellenistic experience. To accomplish this task of interpreting early Christian "Theologies" it is also necessary to study the faiths of the Graeco-Roman world in the same light, as quests for salvation.

These considerations at once suggest the main outline of this study as it appears in the chapter headings. The first task is to show the intimate relation existing between the religious beliefs of a people and the social conditions which limit their life, in this case, with particular reference to all those experiences which are capable of being interpreted in terms of salvation. Hebrew and Jewish beliefs, as the source from which Christianity drew its first strength, are, very properly, the next subject of enquiry. The Graeco-Roman quests for salvation should be investigated with no presuppositions as to the degree, if any, to which they affected Christianity. The fact that such a result was possible is sufficient warrant for studying them. Christianity itself, as a quest, or a series of quests, after salvation, ought to be interpreted as disinterestedly as the other movements with which it was at least geographically and chronologically associated. The further question remains of determining the nature of the relationship, if any, which existed between Christianity and the other religions, as quests for salvation. Certain possibilities must be

kept in mind in this connection. (1) Genetic relationship may be established as having existed at a given time between Christianity and other religious cults, as for instance between Christianity and Judaism or the mystery religions. (2) Also there may have been a functional similarity which gave rise to a certain outward correspondence between the different religious movements, but without genetic relationships. As an illustration attention may be called to the fact that separate attempts to solve the problem of the future life were made by groups which were not dependent upon each other for stimulus, and yet the solutions outwardly suggest common origin. And (3) as a final alternative, there arises the probability that neither one nor the other of the above named interpretations can be posited as having been present to the exclusion of the other for any considerable period of time.

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QUESTS FOR SALVATION IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

CHAPTER I.

THE BASIS OF SALVATION BELIEFS.

Salvation, as a definite doctrine and as a general idea, has many forms. The wide use of the word "salvation", or its equivalents in the various languages, shows to some extent the universality of the idea therein expressed. But the use of fixed terms, however important it may seem, is quite inadequate to interpret the real thought of a people. An understanding of the social forces which mold the thought-forms and of the responses which men make to them, is essential to an appreciation of the content and bearing of the salvation belief, as in the case of any other.

Salvation, as the commonly accepted doctrine of institutionalized Christianity, marks the narrower application of the term "salvation" as well as of the idea. Dogmatic interests tend to give it an exclusiveness which is hostile to a scientific understanding of its growth and function. This doctrine of salvation is indeed accompanied by Christological speculations and does not in any case receive primary recognition in comparison with the metaphysical treatment of the person of Christ. The history of Christian belief as recorded in personal statements of faith and in the creeds of different periods and communities, not to mention the theologies of modern writers, reveals the characteristic tendency to center interest in the person of the savior rather than in the process of salvation. Yet salvation, as a function of the metaphysical Christ, is always necessary to a complete picture. The reason for such prominence of a savior must be carefully considered, and its antecedents psychologically reconstructed, in view of the possibility that the motivating impulse is after all, an interest in salvation rather than in a savior.

If one should study even casually the outstanding Christian theories of salvation, he would discover a close connection between them and the social theories which lie behind all the major institutions. For instance, the system of Anselm, which does not claim dependence upon Scriptural authority, is clearly a reflection of current feudalism in the midst of a theologian's speculation. Man is simply a religicized vassal, and God a transcendentalized liegelord.[1] Even in the case of those systems which assume conformity to revealed patterns a similar correspondence is easily detected.

Recognition of the interrelation of doctrine and social interest is of supreme importance in the analysis of any religious phenomenon. Religion has already been subjected to the discipline of social psychology, though for the most part outside the field of historical religion. The correspondence of a deity to certain values which have been socially determined by the group which worships the deity, or by a different group which has transmitted its god, has become an established and undisputed conclusion in the study of the history of religion. Similarly the rites and practices of a group are expressions of a social interest which at some time was strong enough to produce a permanent crystallization of its moods and emotions.[2] The unconscious impulses which result in the building up of a god-idea are dependent upon the values which have not yet been fully attained by the group. Thus antecedent to the final picture of the god, there is found the germ of the salvation-idea which later receives further elaboration in connection with the developed theogony.[3] The interest of the group in connection with the values socially discovered, is the beginning of the salvation-idea; while the God, functioning as savior, is its consummation.

The inference to be drawn from the foregoing paragraphs is simply that the traditional doctrine of salvation has an historic and psychological genesis in primitive man's realization of his own inability to secure for himself the objects of his interest and need. The salvation idea in some form is for this reason present in religion at all times, barring, possibly, a few individual exceptions.

The recognition of salvation as a widely prevalent social interest tends to introduce clarity into the apparently disparate

elements of religion. There is one constant factor which runs throughout the range of forms, namely, the desire and effort for betterment of condition. The systems which are evolved in response to the promptings of the social interests answer three fundamental questions: From what are men to be saved? to what? and how? There are two opposite poles which mark the boundaries of the conception, the whence and the whither; between these stretch the paths of progress, some one of which each person or group tries to follow, according to the selection of his own will, or that of his group. Only so long as there is movement from the worse to the better, is there salvation. Viewed in this light, salvation hopes stand somewhere between abject pessimism on the one hand, and uncritical optimism on the other, if such extremes be actually possible in human experience. And, being a type of thought which has as one of its indispensable elements a belief in progress, it is capable of being applied to a wide range of situations. It is by very nature possessed of flexibility.

Primarily the different types of salvation hopes are concerned with a present solution of present ills; but as the mystery of the immediate future becomes more uncertain by reason of despair, the eventful day of salvation is set far ahead in time and entrusted to divine guidance apart from any significant human effort. Though salvation, thus broadly interpeted, always possesses the basic principle of progress from worse to better, the forms in which it meets our attention in actual religious employment are by no means few or simple. No attempt is here made to give an exhaustive or even scientifically accurate classification of the variant types of salvation beliefs. But it is believed that the following suggestions may, at the outset, indicate the certainty that each group's hope for salvation is always in the mind of the believers a practical and urgent affair.[4]

One of the crises which primitive man confronted was some disruption of nature which threatened his physical existance. Thus certain groups whose agricultural products depended upon seasonable rains, feared the drought of the growing season. Or another group sought to keep away the flood by appealing to the sun to show himself. Certain habits of nature became bound up with human welfare, and hence man sought immunity from such dangers as famine, flood and pestilence, by appealing to

those forces which, in his mind, were more benign. The process by which he sought to effect this end was in his life part of a kind of nature salvation.[5] The interest in nature salvation was greatly diversified. It was easily turned into crude materialism, in which poverty and prosperity stood in opposition. Religious meaning was not necessarily absent however.[6] Sickness, as a result of nature's breakdown was also a thing from which men wished to be saved.[7]

An isolated group would be likely for a long time to evolve no important interest beyond that which centers about food, shelter, and propagation. But when opposing groups begin to contend for the same resources, the life of each is threatened from a new angle. A different type of salvation results, which may be called national salvation.[8]

The breaking down of political aspirations through one reason or another and the imposition of social distinctions within the group tended to divert the collective hope for national salvation into class and individual channels. Thus there is seen a desire to be freed from the handicaps of class position, such as the philosopher-slave experienced in view of his intellectual elevation and his social degradation, or the longing for cultural emancipation as an escape from superstition and ignorance which were the barriers of advancement.[9]

Human destiny often comes to be thought of as dependent upon ethical conduct. National or individual misfortune is interpreted as the penalty of wrong doing. As a result some sort of ethical salvation becomes essential. On the one hand, deliverance is to be effected by some redeemer, whose service, variously interpreted, stands the needy sinner in good stead. Such thought is to be found in much of the Jewish belief, in Christianity, and in the Graeco-Roman mysteries, not to mention religions less prominent in history.[10] Or on the other hand, the sinning person or persons are exhorted to utilize the latent powers within them and rise above the shortcomings of their previous life. This moral urgency was particularly characteristic of the evangelistic philosophies of Greece and Rome. The problem of ethics, which was later in development than nature and national salvation, as far as distinctly formulated interests are concerned, became very prominent and has remained so, simply because

the integrity of modern society is universally recognized as depending quite largely upon conduct within the group.

In the earlier stages of Jewish social life ethical corruption was not the sole thing from which men wished to be saved. The national hope was very prominent, and the threatening armies of the enemy were thought of as Jehovah's agencies for the purging of Israel's sins. Yet even Israel's sins were often more anti-national than immoral, in that wrong was conceived of as the abandonment of the accustomed worship for participation in the rites of the stranger.

What is true of the Jewish people is largely true of all groups. Misfortune can often be explained only on the basis of a violation of some rule of conduct. As personal or group misfortune becomes less prominent, conduct comes to have more value in itself, and salvation comes to be, not so much salvation from impending danger by means of ethics, as salvation from a sinful state itself.

The ancient explanation of phenomena as the action of spirit powers more or less patterned after human traits, was responsible for one of the most persistent and wide-spread forms of the salvation idea,—salvation from demons. Instead of misfortune being explained by wrong-conduct on the part of the individual, it was interpreted as a consequence of some spirit's work. Wrong conduct itself was thought of as incited by a demon, as in the gospel explanation of Judas' treachery (Jno. 13:2, 27; Lk. 22:3). It is not necessary to cite here the innumerable instances in which ill health was attributed to the presence and activity of demons. Healing practices were restored to for securing release from them. The gospels contain allusions to demented persons whose disabilities were removed by the employment of exorcism. Naturally enough there could not fail to be a desire to effect salvation from the power of demons whatever their action might be. Over against this idea of misfortune, ill health, and wrong conduct as being caused by evil demons, must be set the conception of opposing good demons and a salvation wrought by a counteracting force of a similar nature, as is to be inferred from Matthew 12:43-45 where the evil spirit is represented as finding a haven in his former abode, which was indeed swept and garnished, but not inhabited by a good demon to prevent his return.[11]

The foregoing types of salvation thought, especially in their simpler and unmixed forms, are characteristic of a healthy and natural attitude toward the world of human experience. The anxiety and concern which are felt are by no means unfavorable judgments passed upon the world. Yet circumstances do arise in human life which produce despair as far as a present remedy is concerned; and this dispair turns to hope only by faith in a future world subject to an entirely different kind of control. Thus a belief in other worldly salvation appears. Unfortunately, as the modern mind sees it, this type of redemption hope has been predominant at almost all periods of civilized history, in spite of the inter-mingling of ethical and group salvation. The pessimistic *welt-anschauung* of the disorganized Graeco-Roman period was taken over by the Roman church, and there was augmented and stabalized. It is this other worldly salvation that has become known as the traditional doctrine of salvation. Like all kindred hopes, it is based upon unfavorable judgment of this world and its value. It adds pessimism to anxiety as regards this world and elaborates its theory of future management of destinies to give assurance for what cannot now be hoped for.

Future salvation, like present salvation, is not of one simple form. Among the Jews, the abandonment of the ideal of a nation made safe by the power of armies was accompanied by an increasing interest in apocalyptic manifestations as a means of group salvation. Concerted action on the part of men, however stimulating it had been, yielded to a more pessimistic but yet equally hopeful dependence upon God-given help. The kingdom of Heaven which John the Baptist preached was to usher in the divine control by which the truly righteous would be saved, while the wicked who rebelled against God and his people would be lost. The early Christians appropriated this conception and identified the exalted Jesus with the angelic agent of God who was to usher in the kingdom. The varying feeling of group solidarity and isolation was registered in the changing and shifting emphasis placed on the kingdom as separate and distinct from the existing world order. The belief in an apocalyptic salvation followed the lines suggested by this emphasis.

The rise of individualism at various times and places served to introduce an interest in personal salvation in the place of a hope for an apocalyptic kingdom. This interest in many

instances retained apocalyptic imagery, but it was nevertheless quite different in other respects. Instead of the group to be saved as a group, there was the individual; and the real individual was either the soul as distinct from the body, as generally in the gentile religions, or body and soul as among the Jews, in which case the resurrection of the physical body and its endowment with immortality constituted the major part of the hope of salvation. In early Christianity both phases of individualistic salvation were present depending at first largely upon the predominance of Jewish or Gentile background, and later upon distinctly Christian interests growing out of the movement itself.

Salvation, on its formal side, is likely to be of a mixed character, due to the composite nature of the social structure itself. Several kinds of interests are easily carried on side by side. Political and ethical salvation, for instance, were easily blended by the Jews. Similarly salvation from demons might have equal prominence with some sort of future salvation. Such a situation is to be assumed as a theoretical probability drawn from the nature of human society. It only remains to be tested at various points and elaborated for further clearness.

It is fairly axiomatic that the stimuli which arouse the desire for this or that kind of salvation are to be found in the group or individual experiences which at any particular time present acute difficulties. Similarly the solutions, as far as external forms are concerned, are in some large measure predetermined by these same stimuli. There can be, therefore, no one form of salvation belief for all ages, in as much as problems are continually shifting. On the other hand, the limit of variation is set by the comparative uniformity of human interests as they are linked up with the basic instincts of life.

Aside from the divergence suggested by local and temporal differences in the social situation, the theory of salvation varies to a marked degree according to the technique adopted for securing the desired end. Wundt's theory of the rise of monotheism is instructive at this point.[12] He maintains that there are two sources for the monotheistic idea, viz., (1) the daimon-magic concept, and (2) the reverence paid to the hero. In the case of the former, there is thought to be a quality or power resident in an object, which may have a direct influence upon a person, or upon which a person may have influence. This view finally

eventuates in science which deals with the understanding and control of material forces, in metaphysical philosophy which attempts to give a constructive theory of the universe on the basis of "essence", and in the religious and theological belief that salvation may be secured through contact with divine substance (in which the power resides), or through union with the god himself, as in the mystery religions. Reverence paid to the hero, on the other hand, is not based on a theory of essence, but upon relations expressed toward a person, who, when favorably disposed may grant the thing desired by the suppliant. This attitude results in an ethical monotheism as over against ontological monotheism. Historically these theories are blended in various proportions, though they are by no means logically consistent.

But behind this distinction between ideas of god, there is the more fundamental idea of a result to be secured for the benefit of the worshipper. Hence on the one hand, there arose beliefs in the evil nature of man and the pure nature of deity, and in salvation by means of the purifying magical contact of god-substance with man-substance. The debates about the nature of Christ find a natural setting in this point of view. The savior was not thought to have saving power apart from his nature. And again, in those instances in which deity was thought of as a person susceptible to the influence of conduct, an elaborate theory of behavior arose to instruct the believer in the proper way of securing the good-will of his god. Ethics is to be connected with religion primarily through the desire for salvation.

Illustration of these two methods of salvation may be seen in the Jewish religion, and in the mystery cults of Graeco-Roman life. Jehovah as a hero-god was kind to his faithful followers and meted out justice to others. He was pleased by just such acts as pleased a king. Obedience to God and justice toward man assumed great prominence in the ethical scheme.[13] On the other hand, in the case of the mystery religions, there was, at least at the earliest discernible period, no interest in the ethical nature of the deity or in the kind of conduct that would please him, only in the redeeming power which was in his very essence and which might be made use of by the direct transference of power through contact or identification with that renovating being, or by the sympathetic magic of imitative rites and ceremonies.

Historical Christianity, since the time of Paul, seems to present a mixture of these two methods of gaining salvation. The prominence of the sacraments, the conciliar decisions on the nature of Christ and the cruder ideas of the power of relics, attest the vitality of the belief in pure versus impure substances and the redemption of the individual through getting in touch with the pure and avoiding the impure.

While considering salvation from the standpoint suggested above, recognition should be given to those categories which conveniently illustrate other aspects of this idea. In the first place, variations of the salvation interest may be thought of in terms of the source of power. One would then speak of salvation through the agency of a redeemer god, or salvation by the attainment of the individual. The first type includes such forms of religion as freely express a sense of personal inability to gain security and satisfaction. Historically speaking, most religions are of this character, and even a claim of self initiative is often offset by the logic of redemption which is incorporated. Those faiths which do assert man's inherent power are reflections of an attitude on the part of man to express confidence in his own strength and ability to extricate himself from the difficulties in which he finds himself. In the second place, salvation interests center about that which is to be saved,—the group, the individual, or the soul. As in the case of any other classification of salvation interests, a clear line of demarcation cannot here be maintained except along arbitrarily selected boundaries. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves that the way in which a hope is expressed is determined by the immediate social interest and not by an impulse to classify logically.

It has seemed best to emphasize here the description of salvation ideas in conformity with the social interest and structure, which, on the one hand, gave the impetus toward seeking a solution, and, on the other, provided the pattern which suggested the form which the solution should take. The methods used in gaining salvation, viz., through essence or through ethics as discussed above should also be held prominently in view. Other distinctions between types of salvation theories may be of great value in specific instances, but can hardly outweigh for general consideration of the topic, the ones which have just been stated.

Primitive life, both as known to us historically and as pres-

ent in groups which have not yet been greatly influenced by advanced culture, has been repeatedly studied from the standpoint of social psychology. In fact the technique of that branch of scientific study owes much to this material which has been the source of such fruitful study. But recorded history for one reason or another has not been so freely interpreted. In the field of historic Christianity, serious hindrances in the form of standards of orthodoxy have been present to check the development of an adequate understanding of the social and psychological forces which were operative at all times. As the obstacles to such a study are removed and as the development of technique becomes sufficiently advanced, the psychology of religion ought to be greatly enriched by illustrative and corrective data furnished by the history of Christianity.

In dealing with the specific question of early Christian ideas of salvation, it is necessary to bear in mind the general features of the period which, by reason of their nature, would be expected to contribute some definiteness to the various beliefs.[14] Perhaps the most adequate descriptive term for the life of Graeco-Roman society is the simple word—chaos. The resources of the world were opening up faster than they could be organized. After the time of Alexander the Great governmental control was continually shifting from one center to another, and was always called in question by no small number of those who were theoretically under its domination. The Antigonids, the Seleucids, and the Ptolemies struggled to establish their supremacy by the aid of various alliances. Their exhaustion made necessary the calling in of a new power, as arbiter of disputes. Gradually Rome became ambitious to fulfil the dreams of Alexander by the establishment of a great world-wide empire. But even when this project was well under way there was still a characteristic condition of disorder.

This political situation was paralleled everywhere in other phases of life. In large measure it was responsible for the economic, social, cultural, and religious uncertainty of the time. The removal of sharp national boundaries stimulated the intercourse of free commerce and the migration of workmen and tradespeople from one place to another. Military expeditions shifted great numbers of people as colonial settlers, as police forces for the purpose of maintaining order, and as slaves who

were brought back to Rome and other centers. A business man of the provinces, a craftsman, a philosopher, or a poet, might find himself suddenly transported from his native city to the capital, there to grace according to his rank the triumphal return of a conquering general and to contribute his part in maintaining the position of his captor. On the other hand the outlying posts of Roman official control had a great deal to do with reshaping the ideals of barbarian peoples. This inter-mixture of peoples could not be without effect, for with it went a mingling of religions, philosophies, economic theories and practices, as well as other features of group life. During the period of instability a great deal of dissatisfaction arose. Juvenal and Martial, among Roman writers, reflect the logical pessimism resulting from the free and uncontrolled inter-mingling of all the ethics and individual elements within the boundaries of the known world.

But it is not a trait of human nature to acquiesce in such a condition of life. Hence, it occasions no surprise to meet with an intense longing everywhere for release from chaotic limitations of life. As a result of this longing, men turned in every direction for relief, turning sometimes to the methods of earlier peoples, and again taxing their ingenuity in an effort to construct new plans.

Thus as a correlative to this impatience with uncertainty and chaos, there was present a tendency to organize all unrelated elements into a unified whole. This is the natural reaction which would be looked for under such circumstances. The creation and development of the Roman Empire was the first outstanding adjustment in the midst of disorder. Its establishment was the expression of a social consciousness which had at last become aware of a power of mastery. It would not be strange, on a priori grounds, to find all phases of group thought and life colored by the same kind of feeling.

Christianity itself cannot be thought of apart from the surrounding life. Geographically its early history conforms to the Mediterranean world. Its origin, however Semitic in outline and character, is, nevertheless, to be traced back to a Mediterranean province which had never been isolated to any considerable extent. As the movement spread it moved about the border of the Great Sea among those peoples who were most intimately associated with Graeco-Roman culture.

Not only did Christianity overlap the Roman world geo-

graphically, but also socially and religiously. There was a continuous contact with non-Christian movements through the admission of former adherents to the pagan religions and throngh the conflict which was waged at all times by the rival cults.

The correspondence between Christian and non-Christian belief did not escape the eyes of many of the early Christians themselves, and this became one of the most difficult facts to explain. Justin Martyr was aware of the similarity between some Christian practices and certain phases of non-Christian religions, e. g. Mithraism.[15] The typical explanations offered, demonic intrigue and espionage, fall far short of covering up the basic facts and their significance, namely, that Christianity and its pagan rivals were operating in the midst of social needs and processes which gave to them a correspondence of form and function in spite of their open hostility.

This generalization, if it be valid,—and historical criticism has established such conclusions with remarkable clearness—argues for the assumption of a correspondence of the Christian idea of salvation to social interests and structure which Christians shared with non-Christians. To be exact, the correspondence is not between Christian and non-Christian ideas about salvation or any other doctrine, but between Christian salvation and social interests, on the one hand, and between pagan ideas and the same social interests, on the other. Correspondence between expressions of religious faith does not presuppose any special attitude toward each other on the part of those who hold to the beliefs; nor does an attitude determine the presence or absence of beliefs which possess corresponding functions. In fact it may be wholly unconscious, conscious without hostility, or present in spite of opposition existing between the different groups holding to the ideas in question. In turning, then, to an intensive study of the conception of salvation held by early Christians, it will be necessary to discriminate carefully between the different emotional reactions which were expressed in connection with the belief, and to give an evaluation on the basis of functional significance. In order to achieve the latter aim it will further be necessary to become acquainted with the ideas of salvation which were current in the non-Christian religions of the time and the part which they played in satisfying social needs, before studying the Christian beliefs which are more particularly within the range of our interests.

CHAPTER II.

HEBREW AND JEWISH QUESTS FOR SALVATION.

It would be difficult to conceive any kind or type of salvation interest which did not assert itself at some time or other in Jewish life to such an extent that it left its imprint upon the literature of that people. In spite of the long period represented in the history of Israel and the great diversity of experiences through which the pepole passed, there is a consistent unity of purpose in the national and religious aims which tends to make the problem of salvation prominent in one form or another. In fact, one would not be far afield if he should assert that this is the greatest problem with which all Jewish writers were concerned.

The history covered by the Old Testament books, while not, in this study, the subject of minute enquiry, is readily seen to be filled with a wealth of material which indicates the prevalence of this eagerness to interpret all experience in the light of its redemptive implications. It will be sufficient here to offer only a meagre part of the data which might be used in pointing out the diversity of salvation ideals which were held by Israel at various times and in various situations. No attempt will be made to treat exhaustively the motivating impulses which characterized the quests for salvation which the Hebrews made from time to time. The Old Testament literature has been carefully investigated by specialists, so much so that the main lines of Hebrew thought which deal with the subject now under consideration are familiar to all. It is hoped, however, that the facts brought forward may suffice as a suggestive background offering some perspective for viewing subsequent Christian religious life. The literature of the inter-testamental period will also be studied in view of the fact that Christianity's earliest years were closely environed by the conditions therein reflected.

The most primitive form of salvation interest to be met with in Hebrew literature is that in which is seen an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment with the forces of nature. There are many evidences that the worship of the ancient Hebrews was very largely a religion of nature, as were the other Semitic religions of the same plane.[1] There was for a very long time a tendency on the part of the Hebrews to return to the worship of deity as a nature god. And even after this had been fairly well eradicated

by the strenuous efforts of the leaders, traces of the primitive cults still remained in the prominence given to seasonal festivities and rites. The reason for this is not far to be sought. The people's actual every day experience was so enmeshed with the natural processes of life about them that their god could not be a functionnig god unless he was potent with the strength of nature herself. For the most part the god of nature was friendly but it was necessary to guarantee the continuance of his good will by proper worship. This is the motive of the desire for what may well be called nature salvation.

The dependence of Israel upon the powers of nature during the nomadic and agricultural stages of their history and the dangers that threatened them from that source, are sufficient explanation for the preservation of such accounts as the flood story and many of the experiences of the wandering of the tribes. The flood story recounts the preservation of Noah and his family, together with animals upon which man subsisted, as well as unclean animals;[2] the waters of Marah were made sweet that Israel might not perish of thirst,[3] or, the waters burst forth from the rock at Rephidim, and at Kadesh;[4] the quails and manna were sent that Israel might not die of hunger;[5] Jehovah promised to ward off disease from the faithful.[6] It is interesting to note that in one case, at least, nature salvation was thought of as symbolized for the sake of later generations. Thus the providence of God was to be attested "throughout the generations" by the manna kept as a memorial in the Ark of the Testimony.[7] Furthermore, the rock of Kadesh was pictured by tradition as following the children of Israel to save them from dying of thirst while in the wilderness.[8] This tradition no doubt gave additonal richness to the imagery of God as a rock of salvation.

The holding of festivals at the time of the planting of grains, when the young of the flocks were born, and at the harvest and vintage season was nothing less than an avowal of belief in the kindness of the god in sending the various kinds of food and raiment to his people. To the Jews who had spent a long time wandering in the barren lands of Arabia, the fertility of Canaan, "a land flowing with milk and honey", could be nothing else than a gift of Jehovah intended to save them from further wandering and distress. Various causes might be offered as reasons for the wilderness experience, but always there was the belief

that God would bring his people to a fairer land, through his own leadership and that of his chosen agents. Sin and unbelief may have been on religious grounds the cause of the people's distress, but they did not displace hunger, thirst, fatigue and plagues, as the things from which they wished relief. The demand of self-preservation was imperative and in the nomadic and early agricultural periods overshadowed the ethical ideals which had by this time attained to some degree of significance.

It is a commonplace that Jewish interests were predominantly group interests. Individualism arose at a relatively late period and at no time was characteristic of Hebrew religion as a whole.[9] A quite primitive expression of desire for "group salvation" is to be seen in the characteristic Hebrew longing for posterity. The family sought perpetuity as the nation did later. Thus are to be interpreted the words spoken to Abraham, "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth; so that, if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed be numbered."[10] The desire voiced here is to be seen in concrete form in the story of Abraham and Sara with whom were associated Hagar and Ishmael.[11] The book of Ruth gives classic expression to the Jewish longing for an undying name in the family. The tragedy of the life of Hannah, one of the two wives of Elkanah, was that she had no children though her rival did. The gift of the child Samuel was Hannah's salvation.[12] This characteristic attitude is also seen in the story of Zacharias and Elizabeth, parents of John the Baptist.[13]

Such narratives as these gain their meaning only through the yearning that the family might not be extinguished but might carry on the name of the patriarch and the worship of Jehovah under his blessing. The clan life of the patriarchal period had fixed indelibly on the Jewish mind the sanctity of the family. An unattached individual was virtually an outcast, a man without honor.[14] The patriarch of the family was the representative of all the members whether in the presence of a friendly or hostile clan, or before God. His blessing was guarantee of future recognition and power, as the story of Jacob and Esau plainly indicates.[15] To be the last of a family was a terrible calamity, from which every Jew hoped to escape by the favor of Jehovah.[16]

In the study of Israel's group life, particularly in its more highly developed form, it is natural to anticipate final results by

postulating on a priori grounds a national-political salvation, with such minor variations as exigency demanded from time to time. No clearer illustration of this can be found than in the narrative which deals with the initial events of Israel's national venture, particularly the account of the departure from Egypt.[17] Israel was here placed over against Egypt; and the former's weakness in the contest was supplemented by the strong arm of Jehovah. "And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah, which he will work for you today. . . . Jehovah will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace."[18] There is a certain literalness in the Israelites' picture of the relationship existing between themselves and their god. He actually gave them strength for their combat, as in the battle at Rephidim with the Amalekites during which Moses' uplifted hand holding the rod of God signified the help and power of God.[19] Jehovah was supposed to dwell in the Ark,[20] and from his seat there to command his victorious armies,[21] or, if the ark was captured, to torment and afflict the enemies of Israel.[22] Jehovah was indeed a worker of salvation during the stormy period of the conquest of Canaan.

Without tracing the subsequent history in detail, we are nevertheless struck with the continuance of this same idea for a long time. Israel was always a chosen people,—a nation chosen of God for his own purposes. Whenever miscarriage of plans thwarted the growing nationalism, reliance in Jehovah as the one able and willing to help, was the sole solution of the problem. The one great task was the firm establishment of the nation and its further development in the direction of what now appears to have been a quite rigid particularism. Moral problems of the individual or nation were not moral in themselves, but in relation to the building up of nationalism. The conquest of Canaan, the growth of national consciousness during the period of the judges and kings, the struggle against the opposing people of the North and East, the tragic hopes of the Exile, and the supreme effort of the Maccabaean leaders to rebuild the nation, not to mention later sporadic attempts, are all expressions of an interest centering about the safety and progress of the chosen people of God, and every trial and danger brought forth an appeal for Israel's salvation.[23]

A special type of national salvation is to be found in the

Messianic hope of Israel. Whereas in the early period of Hebrew history, Jehovah was actually present as a leader and hence was the immediate deliverer in time of stress, at a later stage, he was, in Hebrew thought, less intimately connected with the details of control among his people. He was more a superintendent of destinies, than a bearer of salvation, and as a consequence many of his functions were delegated to his representative. The cause of this is no doubt to be seen in the experiences through which the people themselves were passing. Earlier the leader of the Twelve Tribes was some particularly able individual who rose from the ranks. But he was always one of the people, with the same purpose and interests. He was set off from his fellows only by his special talents. With the gaining of desired ends and an increasing stability, the ruler began to have personal ambitions which distinguished him from his subjects. Oriental monarchical ideals readily flourished in Israel. The king was far removed because of his splendor and special privilege. His dignity permitted intercourse with his people only on stated conditions, and often through certain functionaries. These features of Hebrew life furnished the model after which the Messianic beliefs of Israel were unconsciously but actually patterned.

The motivation of the Messianic hope is to be seen in another of the experiences of Israel. The success of the national project and the development of aloofness and hostility toward nearby kingdoms made Palestine a desirable prize of war. Yet the continual threatening and successful onslaughts of strong armies were too nerve-racking for even Israel's confident trust in the sword of battle. She began to doubt her own ability and, most humiliating of all, her favor with God. But out of this despair there arose a belief, fostered by the more zealous patriots, that Jehovah, though a far-away king, would by his miraculous power, re-establish his people in his favor and in honor and power among the nations of the world. An individual, a succession of individuals, or a remnant of Israel, might in turn be recognized as the messiah, the agent of Jehovah in this saving work. The type of salvation was not changed by this fact. Israel was to be saved on this earth as a nation, a people.

Thus out of the experiences of Israel were built up the Messianic hopes. Jehovah was pictured in the same relation to the people as was the monarch. He was far off, and gave blessings

or withheld them as it pleased a ruler to do, and generally through a representative. This conception gave the form of the Messianic hope for a national salvation. The prompting came from the national disasters which had been and were about to be experienced.

At a later time, when hope of a nation on earth in accordance with the current nationalism was turned to despair, apocalyptic Messianism appeared as a necessary stimulus for Israel's lagging spirits. The Messiah was, in this case, a divine being; his kingdom was eternal or temporal on the earth, or heavenly and eternal, in which were to be assembled all those whose claim to salvation was secure.

Whatever was the form of the Messianic hope, there was one item in Hebrew thought which determined the lines of its development; and that was the interpretation of the means of salvation in terms of personal relations with Jehovah. Without doubt the consistent presence of patriarchal and national leadership contributed to this end. The thing which brought about the best working conditions in the family, tribe, or nation, was conformity to the will of the chief. Social control was effected by means of an adjustment of personal relations. Since Jehovah was thought of as Lord of Hosts, King, or even as Father, the welfare of the people was furthered by conformity to his will. Here arose the problem of determining what was Jehovah's will. Some variation in solution was inevitable, due to the temper and environment of different interpreters. What actually took place was the recognition of valid customs and habits, determined by human social experience, as direct commands of God.[24]

At first the personal relation between Jehovah and his children culminated in an interest in what we have called group salvation; but with the elaboration of the system, ethics took its place as a means of individual, as well as group, salvation. This was true particularly after the defeat of national hopes, during the Exile, and later. It is not possible here to treat exhaustively the different ways in which the hope for ethical salvation was expressed.[25] It will suffice at this point to recall a few of the many passages in which the importance of ethics is emphasized.

The fifty-first Psalm, which has traditionally been associated with David's sin in disposing of Uriah and seducing Bathsheba,[26] leaves no doubt as to the genuineness of the need for ethical

salvation. There is no intimation here that sin meant eternal condemnation, but rather a present separation from the providence of God. "Cast me not away from thy presence" (verse 11) is the burden of the plea. Similarly the one who is to "ascend into the hill of Jehovah" and "stand in his holy place", must be one who has "clean hands and a pure heart", etc.[27] Jehovah's blessing, righteousness, and salvation are here used as synonyms, thus indicating the quality of personal relationship which was the desideratum in ethical salvation. In addition to instances of individualistic salvation such as these, the great prophets were concerned with the conduct of the whole people. Thus Isaiah (1:10-20,) challenges the evil conduct of his own people under cover of addressing Sodom and Gomorrah, and concludes his appeal with these words, "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebell, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it."[28] Micah (2:2; 3:1-3) gives an even more scathing denunciation of the sins of the people, and follows (6:6-8) with his statement of Jehovah's will, "to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God". It should be noted that ethics was not strictly speaking an end in itself. The real issue was the salvation (preservation) of the nation from the threatening armies of the enemy. The patriot-prophets attributed the danger to a violation of the will of God. That is, Israel, the subject, had in some way offended the pleasure of Jehovah, the divine monarch. The happiness of the people, their prosperity, their future, their very lives depended upon the friendly dispensations of God. That they interpreted the will of God in terms of morality is to their credit, even though it may lack the social values which later experience of humanity brought forward. Moral conduct was then a means to salvation, a salvation given by God, and not acquiring its worth from the quality of the human activity involved.

Another phase of salvation formula may be seen in the growing interest in legalism as fostered by the priests. The will of God was interpreted in a less ethical sense, though not in a non-ethical sense. Ezekiel and the Priestly narrative are the chief sources for this type of thought. The procedure adopted in this phase of religious expression, though not possessing the high moral quality of the prophetic message, is nevertheless based on the same form of experience, the subject-ruler relation, as under-

stood to exist between God and man. Also its motivation is the same, viz., the desire to make the people's position secure through the establishment of friendly relations between the two parties of the contract.

The experiences of the Exile broadened the particularism through increased contact with other peoples. Liberality toward foreigners was not unmixed with bitterness however. The Jews were in the Exile when Isaiah 40-55 was written and were seeking deliverance from bondage. Their haughtiness had been considerably tempered. In chapter 55:1-5, the nation is called the future David who shall give his "sure mercies" for the salvation of all the world.[29] Isaiah 56-66 was written after the return, when the people's desire was for the restoration of prosperity. The opening chapter in this section is a beautiful expression of the belief that all nations should be saved by Jehovah. The trials of the Jews had convinced them that it was Jehovah and not Israel alone who should bring about salvation.[30] This idea of universal redemption is found not only in "Second" Isaiah, but also in Jonah, certain of the Psalms, notably the 87th, and in Jeremiah, (16:19.) The commendable features of heathen culture had not made any impression on Israel's great leaders as long as there was an actual struggle for supremacy. As opponents of the people of Jehovah, the gentile nations were without the pale and with no chance of being saved; or, as interpreted by some of the prophets, they were temporarily agents of God in the punishment of wayward Israel. But in the end, after the purging of sin, at least a remnant of Israel should be restored and should dominate the world. During the Exile, however, the Jews learned to respect their earlier enemies, or at least to desire some of their prosperity. In any event, they cherished for other peoples the same salvation which they expected Jehovah to give to them.[31]

Another rare phase of the salvation interest is to be seen in the book of Job. The chief character, Job, refuses throughout the drama to acknowledge that he has sinned and thus brought upon himself the curse of God. The situation out of which the book grew evidently was one in which the conventional ideas of sin and salvation were not then acute. Yet there was a poignant yearning for the presence of God. The reality of Job's affliction was not the sole problem for him. His crying need was not release from physical suffering, for restoration of property and family,

but an assurance of the presence of God in a world of cosmic and human relationships. Job wished to be saved from emptiness of life to companionship with his God in his entire experience.

Increased social complexity and wider contact is written upon the pages of the late literature of the Jewish people. In these books is registered the scale of hopes by which the Jews tested their chances in the future, either as individuals or as a nation, as confident in this world order, or in the possibilities of the coming regime only. Many of their old interests faded away, and many became diversified and specialized through the multiplicity of forces brought to bear upon them.

It is quite obvious that the Jews of the Greek and Roman periods would not have such intimate relationship with the forces of nature as did their ancestors. Hence there is not to be found the kind of stories and history that was so expressive of primitive Hebrew life. These earlier stories were carried over, it is true, as symbolic of the dependence of all Jews upon Jehovah at all times. The urgency or other demands and interests relegated nature salvation, as we have used the term, to a secondary or even less prominent, position. The fortunes of the state, or more properly the misfortunes, were uppermost in the people's minds, and famine and pestilence, which previously had been thrust upon man in his immediate contact with nature, were now brought by the sword of the nation's enemies.[32]

In the days of Irael's most hopeful ambitions the commonly accepted belief was that Jehovah's favor would bring about the ideal kingdom, a theocratic institution on earth. The glories of David and Solomon would return. Some chosen agent might indeed usher in this regime, but he would do so only in accordance with a still unchecked nationalism and only as an accidental character in the scheme. But the increasing disasters of the people as a group drove their hopes in two directions. Realizing the futility of moderate means in the promotion of temporal advantages, the zealous nationalists allowed their misfortune to fan the flames of particularistic fanaticism and to drive them to open and defiant rebellion. Or on the other hand, the realization of physical powerlessness tended to stifle all interest in this world and its order and to turn all eyes toward the future, when Jehovah would by miraculous means vindicate his chosen people.

These two tendencies characterize most of the history of late Judaism and the literature which arose within it.[33]

There was a considerable number who sought to establish the nation secure from the attacks of its enemies, but along the same lines as the early champions of Israel followed. Salvation was the work of the sword, and the kingdom of the saved was to stand forever on this earth in the midst of surroundings unchanged except in the direction of a more securely fixed order. The hope of a restored Israel was expressd in various ways. For instance, the enemies were to be destroyed,[34] the exiles were to be led back to Palestine,[35] Jerusalem was to be rebuilt.[36] In Psalms of Solomon (17:23) the appeal is made to Jehovah that he raise up a king, the Son of David, who should bring about these results.

Salvation for Israel reached one of its most acute stages during the Maccabaean period. The bitter persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes and the intrigues of his successsors provoked the faithful Mattathias and his sons to open revolt. There was at first, at least, no conscious feeling on their part that they were especially prominent in the redemptive program. Judas, as reported in I Maccabees 3:18-22, trusted that strength for the few would come from Heaven to save them from the insolent enemy. At one time, the subordinates Joseph and Azarias attempted to gain reknown by overcoming the enemy in an independent attack, but were badly defeated. The author of I Maccabees comments thus (5:63): "But they were not of the seed of those men, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel", i. e., they were not of the Hasmonaean line as were the Maccabaean brothers. The author of I Enoch, (90:9 ff) uses imagery which certainly refers to Judas Maccabaeus and his brethren as the deliverers of Israel from her enemies. For some years the struggle continued, giving more or less prominence to the ideals of religious and national freedom, but finally shifting to a different contest, "with the question whether the friends of the Greeks or the national party within the Jewish nation itself should have the supremacy."[37]

In the writings of Josephus we find evidence that the hope of a particularistic salvation for the Jews had not been abandoned in his day. At first a luke-warm nationalist, he had himself been won over to the side of the Romans, and, opportunist that he was, pictured Vespasian as the Messianic savior of the

Jewish people.[38] More reliable, however, as indications of the views of his less wavering kinsmen, are his reports (somewhat garbled, it is true) of the activities of certain parties and sects within Judaism. Festus was obliged to suppress "a certain impostor, who promised deliverance and freedom from . . . miseries".[39] An Egyptian false prophet attempted to get an army that he might wrest Jerusalem from the Romans.[40] Josephus speaks with considerable disdain, for politic reasons, of the Zealots, calling them Robbers. But it is clear, in any case, that they were a group of fanatical patriots who longed to complete what the Maccabees had begun.[41] In addition to the Robbers or Zealots, there was a more fanatical band who had similar but exaggerated ideas of expediency, the Sicarii, who sought to rid themselves of their Roman overlords by cleverly executed assassinations.[42] It was this insistent longing for release from Western domination which made the Roman officials so suspicious of any show of leadership among the Jews. One of the potent factors leading to the death of Jesus was the fear on the part of the Romans that he would assume the leadership of a Zealot party eager for the redemption of the nation's honor, as had occurred some time before (4 B.C.) when Judas and Mattathias stirred up the people to tear down the Roman eagle from the temple gate. The history of the War of A.D. 66-70 and the revolt of Bar Cochba in A.D. 132-5 is a repetition of the same thing, and in these cases the suspicion was well founded.[43]

The futility of this physical struggle caused others, less audacious but equally earnest, to postpone in their expectations, the coming of the Kingdom until the power of Jehovah should be cast more forcefully into the fray. Some believed that this Messianic kingdom would sometime be established forever on the earth.[44] It is difficult to differentiate carefully between Jewish beliefs which deal with future salvation. Certain elements are occasionally omitted to the confusion of the later reader; and sometimes essentially different schemes have marked points of identity. In Charles' estimation there are at least two documents which were written in the expectation of a Messianic kingdom being established permanently upon the earth, through the intervention of Jehovah, I Enoch 1-36 (probably before 170 B.C.) and II Maccabees (60 B.C.—A.D. 1). This sort of solution of world problems is the result of a compromise between the idea of a

strictly earthly kingdom and that of a state of resurrection bliss for the individual. As attention was turned more and more toward the future, the individual became more prominent until finally the group and its future was lost sight of.

The author of I Enoch 1-36 started on the basis of ethical conduct as the key to a man's salvation. Sin is in the world, not because of Adam's transgression, but because of the activities of the fallen angels in teaching men the secrets of heaven.[45] The judgment of the flood had partially atoned for this sin, but evil was carried on nevertheless through the agency of demons.[46] This sin was to be punished at the last judgment, at which time the souls which have been in Sheol rise, some to everlasting punishment in Gehenna, some to the eternal Messianic kingdom on earth,[47] whose capital is Jerusalem.[48] There is no Messiah. Nature was expected to surpass herself in prodigality.[49] It would seem as if the idea of punishment had received considerable elaboration, probably because of the actual experiences through which the Jews were passing. Penalties were exacted from those who offended the king. Hence salvation from future punishment and a promise of life to those who were continually threatened with death became the greatest hope. It is to the credit of their faith that at least some ethical considerations of high quality were incorporated.[50] The presence of a hope for unlimited posterity and an abundance of wine and food is the recrudescence of a phase of nature salvation, transferred to the future.

II Maccabees has not a great deal to connect it directly with the conception of a Messianic kingdom eternal on the earth. There is some allusion however to a favored nation and the return of the scattered tribes.[51] Also the Jews had been established for all eternity.[52]. The ideas concerning the resurrection furnish most of the data necessary for the reconstruction of the picture. The faithful were to be raised to an eternal life,[53] of the physical body,[54] in a group of brethren.[55] This desire for a group salvation in which the body and eternal life are prominent accords well with stories of the physical suffering and death to which Jewish communities were subjected. The author speaking in 6:12-17 would interpret their torture as punishment, but for the sake of its redemptive value, while with the Gentiles it was the opposite.

The allusions to a temporary Messianic kingdom on the earth became more frequent, paralleling a growing emphasis on indi-

vidualism and the future, and, as a consequence, a growing pessimism with regard to the present world order; and this in turn gave greater prominence to a Messiah for the reason that human power was being less highly regarded. The idea of a kingdom as a guarantee of the fulfillment of human desires was fast receding, and with it many of the physical elements.

The Book of Jubilees gives a very early reference to a Messiah in a temporary Messianic kingdom.[56] The Messiah heretofore has belonged to the earthly kingdom in which his function as savior by the sword is easily explained.[57] In IV Ezra[58] he is pictured as coming out of the sea for his reign of four hundred years after which he and his followers shall die,[59] and after this will come the judgment and the final determination of destiny. The kingdom is no longer the means of salvation nor the residence of the saved. It is simply held over as a vestige of sacred association but, aside from that, of little value. II Enoch has a kingdom of one thousand years duration,[60] but no Messiah, as is also the case in the Assumption of Moses.[61] The kindness of nature, alluded to before, is again seen in II Baruch,[62] and in II Enoch.

The expectation of an eternal kingdom in a new earth and a new heaven marks the final step in the transition from the desire and trust to be saved in the midst of present surroundings to the triumphant despondency of a pure apocalypticism in which the group still figures somewhat prominently. The tendency to look to the future itself tended to break down the hope for national salvation and to substitute the claim of the individual. The only late Jewish document which pointed forward to a wholly apocalyptic kingdom and consistently avoided pure individualism is I Enoch 37-70. The Messiah is a being of supernatural order.[63] No concern is paid to the ordinary desires for physical resurrection. The author's interest is wholly for man's spiritual welfare. Sin was started by Satans,[64] and transmitted to man through the spirit powers let loose in the world. The Messiah, as champion of man's spiritual salvation, sweeps away all that will hinder him.[65] Heaven and earth are changed into fit abodes for the righteous.[66] Although in one place,[67] it appears that both righteous and sinners are to be raised, it is clear that only the righteous are raised "that they should be saved". The pessimism of IV Ezra is even deeper. He feels that only a few will be saved,

and "God will not grieve over the multitude of men that perish".[68]

The main lines of Jewish thought about the religious task of salvation have been suggested with more or less clearness. It has been seen that there has been a somewhat steady progression from a belief that by God's help Israel might make herself worthy of eternal domination of the world, to a thorough-going pessimism which turned from this earth to the new one, and from the nation to the individual. The retention of a temporary kingdom of one kind or another was merely a concession to views long entertained. The dissolution of national hopes was registered in this fact, in spite of the Maccabaean and other revolts.

But our study of Judaism would hardly be complete without some treatment of the by-products of the development of national toward individual interests. The belief in the resurrection was greatly amplified in this process. Apparently in the first stages of thought the resurrection was not necessary as a part of the national program; it was enough that the nation should continue to live on earth. Later it became essential, for since present hope had been abandoned, how else could the harried children of Israel have faith in a saving God? The righteous must needs rise in order to carry on the aims of the nation in the new world. Another aspect of the resurrection idea arose out of the abandonment of group ideals and reached its culmination in the greatly elaborated theory of individual resurrection. The variations of the doctrine are many depending somewhat upon the inclusion of diversified elements: bodily, spiritual, of righteous and of sinners, or of the righteous alone.[69]

Doing the will of God was the means of winning his saving help; and ethics and legalism were the two forms which this action took. Both were assiduously cultivated by the most pious in complete confidence that the outcome would be favorable.[70] As has already been observed, the early ideas about the meaning of ethics were conceived with a purely temporal situation. The current Jewish ideas were simply that Jehovah would bless with earthly peace and prosperity those who observed his will. The dead went to Sheol, where good and bad alike experienced an uncertain immortality. But late Judaism thought of the future as a time of judgment, rewards and penalties, based on the conduct on earth. Again the institutions of the time serve as the

models after which the future was fashioned. Social control, in so far as it was effected by the government in its various forms, was made through the establishment of codes of law regulating conduct, of courts of justice, where guilt or innocence was determined, and of penal agencies which carried the judgment to completion. So it was in the divine guidance of the whole world. In the belief of future retribution, the motivation is to be traced back to several factors, prominent among which is the observation that the righteous were not all prosperous and the wicked were not all abased. This confusing realization is the chief problem of Job. If justice is not reckoned here, how does God show his saving power? The only solution which satisfied the Jews who asked the question was the theory of postponed justice. They saved the theory of divinely given salvation by deferring the date of its appearance. Legalism, while not entirely disassociated from ethics, nevertheless grows out of a different conception. It is not necessarily concerned with justice, but with debt and obligation. Jehovah will remit the penalty if he is pleased with the faithful presentation of respect and honor, such as an Oriental monarch might expect. Regular offerings, punctilious visitations, decorous behavior, and immaculate garb, all are calculated to mitigate the unfavorable judgment which otherwise would be brought upon the undeserving subjects. A further elaboration made the will of God accessible through Wisdom. In many instances, at least, if not in all, the prominence given to wisdom was due to contact with non-Jewish culture. For instance, IV Maccabees is an exposition of Stoicism as seen by Jewish eyes. The passions are to be checked by Reason,[71] not excised as the Greeks thought. In the Wisdom of Solomon,[72] wisdom is mentioned as if it was the *sine qua non* of salvation. Considerable deviation from the conventional Jewish beliefs is present and as a consequence, the striking dramatic features of the more characteristic salvation teaching is missing.

The growing dualism, which accompanied Israel's declining nationalism and her growing apocalypticism, found part of its expression in an elaborated demonology. These evil spirits were in some way associated with the sin and transciency of the earth. They harassed mankind and were themselves held in check by the good spirits representing the other side of the dualism. Little

trace of this belief is to be seen in the classic literature of the Jewish people, as is the case in the corresponding literature of Greek life. There are, it is clear, many references to angels who are the auxiliary forces of Heaven. Furthermore, there are unmistakable evidences of belief in troubling demons in the Old Testament, as, for instance, in Job.[73] Even the Eden-temptation seems to point toward demonolgy. It must be noted, also, that monotheism would rather in many cases credit Jehovah with being the sponsor of evil spirits, than lessen the rigidity of its position.[74] There can be no disputing that even in the Old Testament there is shown a concern for freedom from evil influence of spirit powers.

As one turns to the later literature, in which are freely expressed the common opinions of the average Jew, there are abundant out-croppings of the popular belief in demons and an accompanying desire to be released from their oppression. The story of Tobit gains much of its interest from the account of the overcoming of the evil-spirit or demon,[75] which had killed the seven husbands of Sarah and threatened Tobias. The angel Raphael, on the other hand, plays the role of a helper of devout men. I Enoch provides a great deal of material relating to demonology and angelology. The offspring of the fallen watchers of heaven and the "daughters of men" are, in the mind of the author of the first section of the book,[76] evil spirits and the cause of evil among men. The author of the second section pushed back the cause of man's distress to the Satans, whose functions as tormentors were: 1) to tempt men to do evil,[77] 2) to accuse men before God,[78] 3) to punish the condemned.[79] The plain implication is that part of man's individual salvation must be from the demons. The Testaments of the XII contain such statements as this: "If you do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you".[80] Josephus reflects a type of Judaism of the first century of the Christian era, which is significant, chiefly because of his position in the ranks of culture. His imagination was apparently not fevered by apocalyptic hopes. Yet he reveals a profound belief in the actuality of spirit powers. In Antiquities 8. 2. 5 he says that God taught Solomon "the art of opposing the demons for the succor and healing of men. So that he (Solomon) composed incantations, by which sickness of all sorts is assuaged; and left to posterity methods of exorcis-

ing. . . . . And this system still prevails among us''. While Philo does not commit himself to a belief in demons like that popularly held, he indicates that there is a widespread belief in them.[81]

The query may now be raised as to the effect the Dispersion had on the typical beliefs of the Jews. It has been noted that some of the literature of the Exile reflects a broadened conception of universal salvation. Under the stress of local and temporary persecutions, such as the Palestinian and Alexandrian Jews experienced, this was narrowed down to a picturesque national salvation on earth or in the new earth and new heaven, or an individualistic salvation effected by literal resurrection. On the whole, the wide dissemination of Jews over the world did not of itself greatly alter the regular views regarding their religious hopes. Jerusalem was the center toward which all eyes looked and the beliefs which had gone out from the Mother City were sustained by the common faith of all Judaism. It is true that in some localities pagan ideas gained a secure place in the minds of earnest Jews.[82] Philo was greatly influenced by the Greek thought of his day, but he by no means gave up his love for the Jewish life and institutions, as his mission to Caius at Rome indicates. In those localities in which the Jews lived unmolested in a life of comparative prosperity, it can hardly be expected that the more radical beliefs which had originated in times of great stress should continue to be emphasized. Not only so, but the fundamental theory of salvation, for instance, might theoretically be modified. If, as Bousset and others maintain, Paul was actually influenced by Graeco-Roman theology, the alteration of Jewish soteriology would have at least one clear example, though Paul's break with regular Judaism, might partially destroy its significance.[83]

There is not enough uniformity in the Jewish conceptions of salvation to justify the conclusion that there was anything inherently peculiar to that religion which determined the forms that it took relative to certain great problems of life. There was no secularity as opposed to religion. Both were merged in the common life of the people. The government was associated with the worship; and the distresses of every day life were united with the highest spiritual hopes. From time to time as

certain interests gained a controlling position, the older hopes were re-molded by the use of new forms into usable beliefs and promises. It would be futile to try to understand what the Jews really meant by what they said in regard to their expectation of salvation without at the same time determining what were the social institutions within which they were living.

In the surviving literature of the Jews the idea of a group salvation is predominant. The experiences of the group functioned as the stimuli which prompted the erection of a theory of salvation and also determined what form the expected salvation would take. The solidarity of the clan, tribe, federation, or nation, continually brought forward the administrative means by which the group aims were to be achieved. Thus allegiance to a king and god and fair dealings with neighbors were the approach to collective ends, both in ordinary life or in the future life of the ideal kingdom. Under such circumstances it was hardly possible that a salvation idea based on the quality of a substance or essence could assume any prominence. The earlier idea of sacrifice which attributed to the offering a magical quality or virtue that might be transmitted to the participant, gave way, under the pressure of social relationships with the god, to the understanding of sacrifice as a gift to the god designed to render him favorable. Man, in the first instance, actually ate his god, and gained saving power from his repast; later he ate with his god and put his deity under obligation to him by virtue of that fact; or he offered some pleasing viand to his god, who then would be willing to assist.[84]

The tabu regulations, known to us in Bibical language as "clean and unclean", "holy and unholy", are strictly of the essence type. It was supposed that certain objects possessed, either permanently or transiently, a certain magic power which might be transferred by contact. Unclean objects gave a taint removable only by counter-applications of cleansing solutions. Holy objects also were dangerous to the welfare of the ordinary person and needed to be guarded against by avoiding contact, or, if that was not possible, the transferred power was to be removed by some magical solvent.[85] In spite of the prominence of regulations dealing with clean and unclean, holy and unholy, the idea of magic and of powers resident in objects which could be controlled by direct and impersonal means did not prevail

against the characteristic thought of Jewish religion which made all ends obtainable through personal conduct in relation to a god of personal-power, not of substance-power.[86]

In conclusion, it may be said that there was no doctrine or dogma of salvation as such in Judaism. But it is equally clear that there were many hopes for salvation and many ways in which salvation was expected to come, and each one determined by the situation in which the people found themselves. There were quests for salvation, not a quest. On the whole the Jewish solution of the problem, the technique of salvation, was built upon the experience of personal relations. This accounts for the ethical quality of the religious faith and practice, and the diversity of means and agencies by which the desired ends were secured. The utter need of the people was sufficient proof that help would come. This was the very heart of the religious faith.

CHAPTER III.

GRAECO-ROMAN QUESTS FOR SALVATION.

The Greek and Roman religions are known to modern minds in various guises. Generally a more or less uniform mythology relating the escapades of deities suffices as a description of the combined Greek and Roman religions. But in point of fact, the religions of the Greeks and of the Romans were quite different from one another in their origins and outward forms and should not be equated. And furthermore, the formal religions were somewhat unrelated to ordinary human affairs. It follows, therefore, that an examination of the unconventional expressions of faith must be entered upon, if one would ascertain the real religious motives of the times. Such a study has been made in Jane Harrison's Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, in which is made clear the universal desire of the Greeks to secure safety and betterment of condition in one way or another. Men pictured their environing world in terms of spirit powers which were responsible for all things, whether good or bad. By the aid of some, they sought release from others; and thus all the wishes of life were mingled in a vast undifferentiated accretion of salvation ideas. The dearth of scientific analyses of causal phenomena was matched by a wealth of religious explanations and formulae by which desired ends might be reached; and similarly, no distress was so fixed or irremediable that it could not be altered under certain circumstances.

It is not a part of the present study to outline the thought of Greek life chronologically in terms of salvation interests. The variation and complexity of the materials would, in that case, compel a more detailed study to be undertaken. It will be sufficient to analyze the characteristic solutions of the problem of salvation which were being offered by Gentile religions and religious movements in the period which is practically contemporaneous with the rise of the Christian movement. The individualistic mind was expressed in the mystery religions and in the popular philosophies of the day; while the collective interests generally were objectified through emperor worship. These different types of thought were blended in the social complex, yet for convenience's sake, they may be studied separately in order to show the ways in which the quest for salvation was carried on.

The Mystery Religions.

When the nationalism of the then-known world was broken down by the efforts which Alexander the Great and his successors put forth in the direction of a great empire, there disappeared also the distinct forms of the national religions which were then in existence. They were succeeded by a number of faiths which were somewhat similar in origin and early form, as well as in their later form and function. These "mystery religions" met many of the demands which a growing individualism was forcing upon the religious consciousness of the times. The sense of personal weakness was also intensified by these beliefs.

The supremacy of Rome was undisputed chiefly in matters of arms and legions, but she gladly welcomed assistance even in her army. It was in the matter of religion however that she was overwhelmed and transformed by foreign thought and practice. Her own faith did not have the quality of adaptability which was necessary to make it meet all the needs of the heterogeneous mass which was coming under the sway of her authority. The enlarging bounds of the Empire were constantly incorporating a greater variety of beliefs, and within the nation there was going on a continuous intermixture and development to meet the needs of a porportionately diversified society. The net result of this process was that even before the time the Empire reached its height of power, Roman citizens in unlimited numbers were seeking their personal salvation in the service of the mystery religions.

Without exception, these cults may be traced back to some form of nature worship, and consequently to an early stage in human social development. The seasonal character of the worship of the Cybele-Attis, Demeter-Persephone, and Dionysus cults indicates a primitive concern for the return of seed-time and harvest. The identification of other gods with solar deities points in the same general direction. Primitive man sought to make himself safe through the maintenance of friendly relations between himself and the gods of nature. He observed the regularity of the cycles of the seasons, and this he attributed to the benevolence of some god. He knew no scientific reason for the recurrence of the seasons, but his naive explanation was quite as real and workable in his system of thought as science in the modern world. As long as man's interest was not turned from nature processes, the cult worship was genuinely a religion of nature. The complication of

the social structure introduced other elements of importance. The competition of two groups for the same resources joined an interest for the destruction of the opposing group to the interest for gain of food, shelter, etc. The god of nature became also a god of the tribe or nation. And in time the earlier values were retained chiefly as symbols of new interests.[1]

Apparently the primitive nature religions were lying in a quiescent state during the classical period of Greece as far as the literary remains of that time are concerned. The demands of culture tended to repress all expressions of crude primitivity. When later the chaotic condition of affairs stimulated an interest in individual immortality, the earlier nature religions became fit symbols for the expression of man's hope in the renewal of life. The dying and rising god was no longer the reappearance of nature's life but the earnest of human immortality.

The forms which these religions took on were in general quite similar, though the details were very varied. They came from different localities and registered the interests of their early devotees, at the same time acquiring new features as the problem of salvation shifted and altered. This can best be seen in a brief review of the chief representatives of the mystery religions.[2]

The Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Persephone was prominent as a Grecian religion, whatever may have been its origin. It centered about the familiar story of the mother Demeter and her daughter Persephone. The latter is carried away to the underworld to become the wife of Pluto. She is allowed to return to the upper world for part of each year, else the mother would withhold life from nature. This myth plainly reveals a nature salvation. From springtime till harvest was the welcome stay of Persephone on earth; the bleak winter represented her departure to Hades. When immortality became the special object of human hopes, Demeter was said to have counseled men to observe her rites if they wished to obtain life everlasting.

These rites were not discussed openly and for the most part are lost. Ritual purification was a part of the procedure. Finally came the culmination of the initiation, the drama of the cult, which portrayed pictorially the secret of the redemptive transaction, if cautious conjectures are at all correct. The object was to impress emotionally the newly admitted candidate and to give

him certainty of his own participation in the life-giving experience.

By the opening of the Christian era this cult was widespread and flourishing. It had originally been the state religion of Athens, though later it lost this distinction under pressure of its popularity. It was not without competitors on Greek soil, among which may be mentioned the Dionysaic and Orphic cults. These are to be characterized as nature religions even more than the Eleusinian cult, though they embody no significant differentiating feature. Dionysus (Bacchus), a Thracian god of the vine and wine, possessed the devotee through the power of intoxication, and thus gave proof of his ability to save to future life. The Orphic cult, worshipping Dionysus, under the name of Zagreus, incorporated a considerable element of speculation to temper the crudity of its nature worship and at the same time developed a system of compulsion of the deity. These two forms of religion had widespread influence, though they did not maintain their individuality as did the cult of Demeter and Persephone.

The influence of the Egyptian Isis-Osiris-Serapis cult in Graeco-Roman life was quite pronounced, even at an early time. The desire of the Ptolemies to blend the Greek and Egyptian subjects by means of a religion acceptable to both groups, was in all probability, one of the factors which determined the form of the cult in the third century B. C.[3] But the reason of its spread to other lands is to be explained, not on the basis of political ambitions, but rather on the grounds of it offering a definite promise of individual immortality.

Osiris, later known as Serapis, was a beneficient Egyptian king,[4] who suffered a violent death at the hands of Typhon. Isis, his sister-wife, sought his *membra disiecta*. When these were restored to life, Isis and Osiris were elevated to the rank of immortal gods.[5] Every one who longed for assurance of the after life, observed the rites of the cult, inspired by the promise: "As truly as Osiris lives, he also shall live; as truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die; as truly as Osiris is not annihilated, shall he not be annihilated."[6]

The Phrygian cult of Cybele-Attis was well known at Rome from 204-5 B. C. onwards, when the sacred stone of the Magna Mater was placed on the Palatine. The hope that her presence might give victory to Rome against Hannibal was fulfilled, and

due honor was given to the goddess, though not until after the time of the republic was her worship given free reign.

The Phrygians, who came from Thrace, blended their religion with that of their new home. Thus the nature god Dionysus was transformed into Attis, and he in turn was associated with the nature goddess Cybele. Further identifications were made, as diffeernt cults were assimilated, but without effecting any considerable change. In accordance with the general development of nature religions, the main interest ceased to be desire for the return of vegetation, and became the promise of immortal life.

The myth of Cybele and Attis tells of the death of Attis through a wound inflicted by an enemy or else by self-mutilation, the mourning of the mother-goddess, and finally the resurrection of Attis to the position of deity. By imitation of the life of the god, the devotee believed that he would be born anew to the life of the future. "Take courage, oh mystics, because the god is saved; and we shall have salvation from our trials."[7]

The religions which came from Syria do not have the same distinctness that some of the other cults have. The influence of the Babylonian Ishtar and Tammuz on them is unmistakable. The names may be changed to Ashtart and Eshmun, or Aphrodite and Adonis, without essentially altering the nature of the cult. Also the worship of Atargatis and Hadad had the same general character. In all cases we may see a form of religion in which the reverence for life has been transferred from its manifestations in nature to its perpetuation as the life of the soul. Commercial enterprises contributed largely to the dissemination of these phases of religion, and they carried with them into the Occident a considerable amount of astrology by means of which the characteristic pessimism of Semitic thought was lightened, not without meeting other handicaps, however. The typical Semitic beliefs regarding the future are by no means cheerful or reassuring. The life to come is a life of the "shades", only a reflection of what had been experienced. Under the influence of Oriental astrology, however, there was a promise held out that the soul might escape its ceaseless rounds under the spell of the stars, and obtain a life like that of the stars themselves. Determinism, the logical outcome of the system, would have destroyed all possibility of salvation, if the desire for redemption had not been strong enough in actual practice to check its full development.

Mithraism, however, was more fully saturated with astrology than were the other cults. It possessed the usual dualism of Persian thought due probably to sharp geographical, climatic and social contrasts; and it was this feature which functioned as an effective medium in presenting a positive hope in the ultimate victory of light and virtue over darkness and evil. The two extremes were pictured in vigorous opposition both in the present and in the future. Mithra was the leader of the host of good, and hence savior of men. The erstwhile god of light became the god of moral vigor and purity. The conflict suggested by the dualism of the system tended to introduce a quality of austerity not attained by other cults. The development of the character of Mithra followed also the other lines suggested by the dualistic system. Mithra was the enemy of all evil demons, the leader of the good. Man's task was to throw himself on the side of Mithra, but even in this act he was not self-sufficient; Mithra must help him. "Mayest thou keep us in both worlds, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! both in this material world in the world of spirit, from the fiend of Death, from the fiend of Aêshma, from the fiendish hordes that lift up the spear of havoc, and from the onsets of Aêshma."[8] Mithra's function as a leader seems early to have assumed equal or even greater prominence than that of a dying and rising god though the art and ritual carried along by the cult preserved the record of a genuine interest in this phase of the god's meaning to his worshippers.

These religions of the Graeco-Roman world were not preserved in unvarying forms, for they did not develop an authority and infallibility dependent upon an original model. As suggested above, they assimilated kindred cults without losing any of their individual force. But aside from the admixture of similar faiths, there went on also a mingling of various other phases of religious thought less closely related. This may be seen in the increasing prevalence of magic, astrology and demonology, as theories by which were explained many, if not all, the phenomena of experience.

Magic reflects a very primitive religion and consequently a very simple state of society. Astrology, on the other hand, reflects a definitely localized authority and control. The clear Eastern sky gave an opportunity for men to observe the unchanging courses of the heavenly bodies. The monarchial ideal of govern-

ment joined with these observations in producing a theory of divine control. Under the spell of astrological thought the gloomy and hazy future exitsence in the underworld in whose doubtful pleasures all were to share alike, was transformed into a dual world, in which those worthy of being saved should enjoy the bright glory of the heavens forever and the lost should be confined to the realm of torture below. The monarchial practice of rewarding and punishing subjects is here reflected in the theodicy of religious belief.

Many theories of salvation have been greatly affected by these two features, 1) the observation of the fixity of the heavenly bodies and 2) the methods of social control adopted by an autocratic government. Each fosters a belief in the inflexibility of destiny, and the latter a theory of justice based on rewards and punishments.

Demonology was quite at home in the midst of such beliefs. Compulsion of spirit powers, (and magic and astrology involved all this) was logically adopted as an expedient calculated to remedy the ills of man. Thus the typical soteriology which was expressed positively as identification with the immortal god, had its obverse side in the desire to be free from the domination of malignant godlets who were responsible both here and hereafter for every form of distress which afflicted man.[9]

Gnosticism, which is most familiar to modern students as an heretical tendency in second century Christianity, is a development of the magic and mythology of a much earlier period. In spite of the philosophical elements which early Christian opponents saw in Gnosticism, it was essentially a scheme of redemption based on the compulsion of deity and the desire for release from an impure world. A knowledge of the secrets of heaven would guarantee man a safe passage in the world to come. Apparently there was little if any thought of moral obligation on the part of the believer.[10]

Without exception, the foregoing expressions of religion may be called quests for salvation and as such they functioned in the period of their prominence. They did not possess any outward uniformity, any commonly accepted system of theology, though it would not be inaccurate to say that there are certain fundamental characteristics which underlie them.[11] This fact is no where more clearly seen than in their claim to offer salvation to

humanity, a salvation varying greatly in its outward aspects but in all cases based on the recognition of man's inability to save himself and on the possibility of securing the advantage of divine help. In this particular, religion was only registering the characteristic feeling of the age. There was a limited number who felt that man possessed the power within himself to work out his own salvation, but on account of the universal disorder in government and society, there was little self-confidence expressed, and relief was sought in the direction of some powerful super-man, a god who had had a human experience and hence was sympathetic, or a ruler who was sent from heaven to correct human ills.[12]

The mystery religions, deriving their motive from the field of general experience, were as a consequence religions of redemption in contrast with religions of attainment, though it is true that there were frequent compromises between the two.[13] Even Gnosticism, which because of the prominence it gives to "knowledge" might on a priori grounds seem to possess the qualities of the attainment religion, viewed its source of power as coming directly from heaven as a saving revelation and not as the reward of human effort. It followed quite consistently the lines marked out by the traditional religions of redemption.[14]

The earlier nature cults, out of which the mysteries grew, had long since lost their original apppeal, though reminiscences are by no means infrequent. For instance, the prominence given to the corn-ear, the pine, an animal, or other symbols, such as stars and planets, can have no other meaning than that of a simple nature religion had developed a desire for a different kind of salvation from that it had at first held, but had carried on its sacramental emblems into a new environment. Originally the Greeks and Romans knew little or nothing of star worship, but after the Alexandrian conquest, the stars, known to all peoples, came to be the universally accepted vehicle of imperialistic ideals.[15] Hence there were present, at all times suggestions, at least, of an earlier longing for salvation from an inhospitable nature. Indeed at a relatively late date, the worship of Osiris, inspired its devotees to implore the god to give them the promise of fresh water, which earlier had been the source of relief from the heat of the burning Egpytian sun, and later the symbol of a fountain of living water. Even at Rome, far removed from the drought of Egypt, the faith-

ful inscribed upon their tombs these words, "May Osiris give you fresh water."[16]

It would seem that there was nothing inherent in the early mystery religions which called for an ethical salvation, inasmuch as their goal was a changed nature or a future heaven. Men sought for release from guilt as if it were a stain fastened upon them and removable through the operation of some magical or sacramental rite.[17] It is in this sense that conduct is chiefly of concern to the early mystery religions. Ethical salvation reaches its higher forms under the influence of ideals of personal behavior in society, as seen particularly in the Jewish system, or the "brotherhood of man" advocated by the philosophic movements. Yet it would not be just to infer that the mysteries did not come to recognize the value of ethical conduct. Under the pressure of moral standards evolved in the total complex of social experience if not through the direct influence of the philosophies, these cults rapidly assimilated an appreciation of the worth of purity of heart as contrasted with ceremonial cleanliness. The Isis cult, with which looseness of morals was at first associated, responded to the popular demand for morality and was transformed into a religion of inner righteousness.[18] Nero absented himself from the final ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries when it was made known by the herald that immoral persons were forbidden to attend.[19] Still later, Celsus twitted his Christian antagonists by comparing the high moral standards of admission into the pagan mysteries with Christian practices which admitted sinners.[20]

Similarly, there is little trace of the ideals of group salvation in the restricted sense. It may be that the Isis cult was promulgated for the purpose of advancing political and social solidarity in Egypt, but this feature was soon lost sight of, and the cult was carried abroad on the basis of other pleas. The Cybele cult was officially established in Rome in 204 B.C., (though known there before), in recognition of the fact that she had become the savior of Rome upon the defeat of Hannibal.[21] But again the idea of national salvation died out in the life of the cult, if, indeed, it ever existed there. In A.D. 307 Diocletian recognized Mithra as the protector of the empire (*fautori imperii sui*) by the official dedication of a sanctuary to him.[22] In spite of official recognition, these cults did not become advocates of national salvation as did emperor worship and the conservative restorations of the older

religion by Augustus and Julian. No doubt the multiplicity of mystery religions prevented any one of them from becoming predominant in this capacity. It is true, however, that these cults, by reason of their dualism, fostered the aristocratic ideals and tendencies of their time, and promised salvation only to those who became members of the initiated group. In this respect they possessed a heightened form of group (esoteric) salvation, though they still retained the individualism which was characteristic of the time.

Among other distinctions within the general idea of salvation are those of time. The question then is this: does salvation benefit now or in the future world? As far as historical forms of mystery religion are concerned, a single answer was not given. The nature cults sought a present salvation, but when they were transformed into "mysteries" they gave up this feature almost altogether. In so far as an interest in a present solution of present problems was retained, a present salvation was of course an integral part of religious thought. Thus demons as an explanation of any inconvenience or distress necessitated some corresponding release from them.[23] The magical formulae which became so widespread in use just before and after the opening of the Christian era testify to the prevailing desire to secure a really vital kind of present salvation. The development of astrology and its incorporation in the current religious systems assisted in transferring the interest of men to the future where salvaton was to be from death and from evil powers. Under the stimulus of the imagination, the coming world was pictured in terms of the desirable things which had not been obtained here. There was to be a Golden Age in which there would be peace and plenty, an epoch in this world's future history or a period after the destruction of this world, during which men would be assimilated to the eternal and glorious life of the heavenly beings, free from the antagonism of all the lesser and evil beings who were eager to trouble human souls. Yet Mithra was savior both in this world and in the world to come.

Immortality was the key-word of all the mystery religions, and particularly of those whose myth told of a dying and rising god with whom the devotee might be identified. No plea or promise had such an appeal as an assurance of individual deliverance from the uncertainties of life. Thus at one stroke they solved the

problems of sickness, persecution, poverty and disgrace, and the mystery of death.

In the main, the problems which the mystery religions attempted to solve were those connected with the individual. It is a commonplace to state that with the conquest of Alexander and the downfall of nationalism, individualism came to the front. That it was the case in matters of religion, is easily demonstrated, as far as the Graeco-Roman civilization was concerned. Such being the case, it was but natural that the technique of salvation methods should follow the lines suggested by the theory of man's and of god's nature. The source of saving power was not characteristically dependent upon the value of man's activity, but in the use made of the strength and life of the cult god. This, however, was not done in one simple way. At least three processes were adopted in securing this end; 1) there was effected an identification of the devotee with the god, who had had the experience of having been raised to eternal life; 2) the leadership of a fighting, conquering god was accepted, and his prowess guaranteed a favorable outcome; or 3) some control was secured over deterministic forces, on the illogical but practical basis that all-powerful spiritual beings might be compelled to yield to the wish of their inferiors under certain conditions.

Identification with the god was particularly prevalent in the typical mystery cult. It had its origin in the most primitive forms of religion. The desired qualty of strength, swiftness, fruitfulness, or life was thought to reside in the nature god. In some mysterious way these qualities were thought of as transferred to the worshipper through partaking of the gods, through contact with them, or through imitation (a variety of sympathetic magic). This "transubstantiation" of deity and the benefits accruing therefrom, were at first parts of an immediate salvation process of a rather simple character. Divine strength was imparted for an impending conquest, or the god was in some way apprehended by the devotee. In a quite natural way the theory was made workable when the desire was for eternal life. The god, so the myth ran, had attained immortality. By a process of identification with the god, the initiate was assured of the same blessing. Thus the worshipper of the Cybele-Attis cult was *in aeternum renatus*,[24] and reverenced as a god, following the baptismal ceremony, during which the blood of the victim-god was the agent

of regeneration, and other symbolic acts, e. g., the burial and resurrection scene. The self-mutilation of the Phrygian priests, suggesting the death of Attis, also served to identify the devotee with the rising god.[25] The Egyptian mysteries gave the same promise and virtually in the same form. "The old belief that immortality could be secured by means of an identification of the deceased with Osiris, or Serapis, never died out."[26]

The introduction of astrological beliefs did not destroy the theory of identification, though it tended to support the idea of a powerful god under whose leadership desired ends might be secured. But it is evident that the soul of a believer was thought to share in the immortality of the heavenly beings, the star-gods, who did not die, but who were born again when they began to sink and always remained invincible.[27] The theory of salvation by means of identification with the god, remained intact throughout the period during which these cults flourished.

Another means, however, by which similar results were obtained was pictured under the form of a militant god, marshalling his forces for combat. To ally oneself with this champion insured safety. The religion of Mithra was particularly friendly to such a view. Cumont[28] summarizes the meaning of Mithra as a leader thus: "In the war which the zealous champion of piety carries on unceasingly with the malign demons, he is assisted by Mithra. Mithra is the god of help, whom one never invokes in vain, an unfailing haven, the anchor of salvation for mortals in all their trials, the dauntless champion who sustains his devotees in their frailty, through all the tribulatons of life. As with the Persians, so here he is still the defender of truth and justice, the protector of holiness, and the intrepid antagonist of the powers of darkness. Eternally young and vigorous, he pursues them without mercy; 'always awake, always alert', it is impossible to surprise him; and from his never-ceasing combats he always emerges the victor. This is the idea that unceasingly occurs in the inscriptions, the idea expressed by the Persian surname Nabarze, by the Greek and Latin epithets of ἀνίκητος, *invictus*, *insuperabilis*. As the god of armies, Mithra caused his proteges to triumph over their barbarous adversaries, and likewise in the moral realm he gave them victory over the instincts of evil, inspired by the Spirit of Falsehood, and he assured them salvation both in this world and in that to come."

Mithraism, throughout its history, appealed to the fighting instincts of humanity. It did not foster a contemplative mysticism as did most of the cults. It offered a distinct challenge to the worshipper who was made to see that his part in the cosmic struggle was to fight beneath the standard of the invincible god and assist in ushering in the rule of right and light. All nature was engaged in a mighty combat, and Mithra like the stars, was undying and unconquerable. This fact was the guarantee of a victory and salvation of a very active kind.[29]

The source of such a soteriology as Mithraism presented was, of course, the militant dualism of Persian thought life which engendered a spirit of conquest. Though Romans fought with Persians, The Romans finally adopted the god of The Persians. It is not without significance that the cult was most popular with soldiers, especially with those of Rome, who carried their austere and vigorous faith to the ends of the empire. It promised salvation by the very means which gave efficiency to their own efforts, allegiance to a leader. In this respect it was like the cult of the emperor, but even more vital. Mithra gave commandments as did a general or ruler.[30] And under the influence of imperialistic ideals variously transmitted, other religions also were tinged with the teaching of salvation through the mutual support of subject worshipper and ruler god in the great cosmic conflict.

Mithraism is thus seen to combine the two methods of redemption. In the first place, the dualistic theory of the universe posits a good and a bad nature or essence in all things. Salvation was effected by being on the side of the good and having a good nature. Again, this was effected by means of personal attitudes toward the leader of right. This relationship was individualistic rather than social, but it was very prominent throughout the history of Persian religion. It continually tended toward an ethical monotheism and a salvation by works. The absence of the social element is evident by the fact that there was no "church" or formal religious group. In earlier Persian religion this had been supplied by the nation, but the Alexandrian conquest left the faith without an official organization. The gap was bridged over, though incompletely, by the continued devotion of the individual to his divine leader.

The theory of salvation based on control or compulsion of deity, was not prominent in the original mystery religions. If

one may speak of types, the Greek and Aisa Minor cults sought immortality by means of identification with the god, and hence compulsion of deity was not necessary, for the devotee was himself god. The Syrian and Persian religions were based on the separation between the subject and his monarch or Baal, and this did not permit control from below, though it fostered the notion of divine omnipotence. In the religion of Egypt, which was at first a system of magic, the priest could force the gods by threats to do his will.

The disturbances of government control during the few centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era, assisted in breaking down the final authority of the gods. A ruler or a god must be reverenced, but he might be compelled to yield under the pressure of shrewd diplomacy. Thus on the religio-scientific side, magic and astrology, and on the socio-governmental side, partial subjection of the will of the ruler to the whims of the people, tended to spread abroad the doctrine of man's ability to coerce the god, until it was a very popular theory and even in some instances possessed of some degree of respectability.

The logic of astrology called for a rigid determinism which itself would have excluded any possibility of altering the course of events. But because of practical necessity as man viewed his religious experience, and possibly justified by the outwardly scientific argument that comets and shooting stars were evidence for the occasional setting aside of inflexible determinism,[31] the logic of the theory gave way to the logic of practical need.

The Egyptians, as stated above, placed value on the power of ritual. It had a functional significance which was inherently its own, and by its use unlimited authority over divine beings was secured for the benefit of man. Release was sought from personal enemies, storms were averted, in short, any wish whatever called for the employment of some magical formula. The Orphici, who early taught that purification from guilt derived from the earth-born Titans must be effected through asceticism, later sought a short cut to salvation by means of sacramentalism and magic.[32] The magical formulae contain such statements as these: "When this name is spoken it carries along with its force, gods and demons" and "This spell loosens chains, blinds,

brings dreams, causes favours, and may be used for any purposes you wish''.[33]

Thus magic, astrology, and in a measure, gnosticism, gained their force by claiming to effect for man whatever kind of salvation he sought, through the compulsion of deity. Religion was thus brought down to what we view as degradation and triviality. And in so far as these phases of religion penetrated the established cults, they modified the original theories in the direction of an even more mechanical manipulation of divine powers than that to which they at first held.

The mystery cults, among which a certain degree of similarity existed, nevertheless are here seen to have possessed a surprisingly wide range of variation. The external features of their soteriology, the things for which they showed aversion or for which they longed, are by no means identical. They sought at one time a betterment of this world; at another only the future world seemed to be of concern. The means by which salvation was to be secured varied also, giving chief prominence to the activity of gods in some instances, and in others, crediting man with a considerable share of power.

For the most part, the ills of this life from which the mysteries claimed to give release were such as might be deduced from the theory of man's inherent evil or weak nature, not from a theory of good or evil conduct. That moral action came to be highly prized and even demanded, must be readily acknowledged, but it can hardly be called a proper development of the main principle of the cult belief. In this particular the mysteries as quests for salvation, were quite different from the Jewish religion.

The Cult of the Emperor.

The general features of the redemptive type of salvation are to be seen in the reverence which the ancient peoples paid in various ways to their exalted rulers. There was the characteristic feeling of need and inability to meet it, supplemented by the confident belief that the gods were enough interested in the welfare of man to send some representative or agent to the rescue. And since the gods were always interested in the same things in which men were interested, it was but natural that some special thought should be paid to the salvation that was to be wrought in the life of a nation's political history. Thus the

agents by which the longed-for blessings were secured were considered as heaven sent representatives of the gods. They naturally became the recipients of honors such as ordinarily were accorded only to the gods themselves. It was but a step to the actual identification of king or emperor with some well-known god or the imputation of sonship in a literal sense. Among peoples to whom the monarchical ideals were natural there was no lack of religious quality in the attitude shown by subjects to king. This was particularly true in the Orient where the ruler was always thought of as commissioned from above. Among the Greeks and Romans of pre-Christian times, the reins of government were not withheld absolutely from at least certain classes of the people, and at no time did absolutism so thoroughly dominate the whole people as it did in the East.

Among the Jews there was a very keen desire to have the problems of national life settled by divine power, and this was expressed in different ways, as has been shown in a former chapter. The development of Messianism was the outcome of Israel's perennial hope for a redeemed nation. In the early years of organized life a great deal of prominence was given to the chief or leader of the tribe. The generals, judges, or kings were God's agents. But with the division of the people and the consequent weakening of centralized power, there also went the prospect of achieving the plans which such leaders as David had hoped for the nation. Experience refused at last to allow confidence to be felt that a kingdom might be established in the midst of the present world order and under earthly kings. The only possibilty of success lay in the direction of a theocracy in which Jehovah himself was the king. This fact tended to lessen the prominence of human leaders while still emphasizing the idea of a kingdom, though indeed it was placed in a different world order. One cannot fail to see the inner likeness of the Jewish national hope to the expectations cherished by other peoples. In each case a collective salvation was desired through the activity of divine power, operating either directly or indirectly. It is to the worship of the ruler by non-Jewish peoples in the Graeco-Roman world that our special attention is now turned.

The belief in a savior king born of God, or in some other way accredited from above, is well-nigh universal.[34] This belief on the part of subjects did not depend upon the establishment of

a cult for purposes of propaganda. In the East during the period in which monarchical government flourished unmolested the national organization itself furnished the necessary medium for religious appreciation of the king's divinity. This was also quite generally true in the Roman Empire, though the task of unifying heterogeneous elements called for some special attention. For among the Greeks and Romans the idea of a god-appointed king was not universally accepted. The leader was thought of as becoming a god after death by virtue of his exploits in behalf of his fellow men. The Occidental and Oriental views may be stated antithetically as follows: in the East only a god could be the "author of salvation"; in the West the man who saved was honored as a god. The union or harmonization of these two ideas took place alongside the building up of a theory of imperalism which was compatible with the governmental instincts of all the people.

As illustration of the deification of a hero, may be cited the honors given to Alexander the Great by the Ionians because of his action in securing liberty for them.[30] This probably took place during his lifetime, and if so, marks a somewhat radical modificaton of the strictly Greek procedure. Certainly Alexander did not want for divine honors after his death. The successors of Alexander received adoration in a similar way. In 307 B.C. the Athenians honored Antigonus and Demetrius Polioketes as savior-gods because of their gratitude for being delivered from the domination of the Macedonian Kassander. In a very short time the Rhodians called Ptolemy "savior" because he had helped to free them from Demetrius. Many other great figures in the history of the post-Alexanderian age were hailed as "saviors", "savior-gods", or "defenders",—the Ptolemies, Flaminus, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and others.[36] The uniform occasion for such recognition was genuine appreciation of the assistance given to effect a release from domination at the hands of a hostile nation. But the political situation with all its instability introduced an element of transiency in the worship of the ruler, so much so that the cult of the emperor did not become a really characteristic feature of Roman religious life until the Golden Age of Augustus. His reputed transformation of the city from brick to marble has enough truth behind it to account for the genuine religious fervency of popular appreciation for the safety

assured to all by his benign rule. The cult of the emperor flourished for a long time under the stimulus received from the Augustan age.[37] It seems not to have been received with the same favor in Italy as in the Eastern provinces, but nevertheless it became an effective means of symbolizing the ideals of the Roman people, who made no distinction between religion and politics as is done today. Later emperors did not exercise the same caution which Augustus did,[38] in refusing divine honors in Rome. They were very zealous in extending the cult and in making participation in its rites a test of patriotic allegiance. Those to whom the Pax Romana seemed to be a gift from the emperor, were genuine in their religious feeling, but certainly the cult was not free from criticism as a religious institution.[39]

The organization of the cult of the emperor reveals at once the elements which entered into it as the formative impulses, and the genuineness of religious feeling which existed under certain conditions. The cult worship may be approached from two different aspects, viz., 1) the formal organization as it gathered about official centers within the province, and 2) the spontaneous outburst of worship which sprang from the hearts of the people and was only incidentally associated with the cult of the emperor.[40] In so far as the official representatives of Roman government actually furthered the cult on its formal side, the object was to gain the good-will and support of the people through the honor that was thus brought to them. No deep religious feeling could grow out of this phase of the cult, in as much as it was concerned, not with devout religious expression, but with governmental control and unification deliberately superimposed. The really religious quality in emperor worship arose in the attitude of the people, and registered itself in the local cults of the emperor which, as a matter of fact, formed the actual support of the official organization. These cults arose out of genuine gratitude to the emperor and the desire to secure additional favors through flattery and praise. No doubt fear of the ruler's displeasure was at times very prominent, but this feature does not in itself eliminate the religious element any more than in the Jehovah or other worship. There was often present a genuine feeling of gratitude and a filial attitude toward the emperor as may be seen in the inscriptions to the ruler.[41] If, in the officially established cult of the province, the emperors had been associated with the gods,

there might have been some significance in the fact. But it was in the local worship that the closest identification was effected. Caligula was at one place known as Helios; Nero was sometimes Apollo, sometimes Zeus, or perhaps it was Domitian who was called Zeus at still another place. The empresses were also identified with some of the goddesses. In some instances, the gods were simply placed side by side with the patron gods of the city. At Epheseus Θεοὶ Σεβαστοί were associated with the cult of Demeter, and it is fair to conclude that this unsolicited act was an expression of genuine faith in the worth of the ruler to the community.[42]

On its formal side, the worship of the ruler came into conflict with Christianity, particularly in Asia Minor, where the oriental willingness to worship the ruler as deity offered the best opportunity for binding the inhabitants to the Empire. The Christians were, first of all, members of a different kingdom, and the most rigid did not consent to do even the seemingly trivial acts which, from the standpoint of the government, would have freed them from any charge of treason or insubordination, and, at the same time, left them free to follow their own religious desires.

Thus there were three attitudes toward emperor worship: 1) that of the government which was particularly desirous of effecting national unity; 2) that of the average citizen (particularly the orientals) who were anxious for earthly peace and prosperity, and who saw in the ruler the sole agency that could effect it; and 3) the view of those strict adherents to the supremacy of the new God-made order, who would not deny their faith by formally acknowledging the emperor. Those of the first and second classes could agree because they could admit a multiplicity of religious systems side by side. Those of the first and third classes could not agree, because the Christians on the one hand, could acknowledge only one god; while the officials must at least have their god recognized. A clash was unavoidable.

If the judgment of the Christian opponents were final, there could be no statement regarding the religious value of the cult of the emperor. The attitude of those who adhered voluntarily to emperor worship indicates, however, that there was from their point of view much in it that was worthy. In so far as the cult possessed religious genuineness and vitality—and this was not inconsiderable—it did so by virtue of an offer of salvation. And

the kind of salvation which it offered was conditioned by certain problems of life which citizens faced intimately. In the terms which have frequently been used in this discussion, worship of the ruler offered a present group salvation of a political and materialistic type. Such is the meaning of a letter to Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, from a subject: "Shamash and Adad have through their infallible oracle destined my lord the king for his royal rule over the lands: 'favorable reign, days of justice, years of righteousness, copious rainfall, mighty freshets, favorable market prices' . . . . Animal life multiplies. My lord the king has bestowed life upon him whose sins had destined him for death; they who were many years in prison, thou hast set free. They who were sick many days have been restored to health; the hungry became satisfied, the impoverished became fat; the naked became clothed with garments."[43] Other oriental peoples had the same fervent expectation of plenty under the ministry of the divine ruler. Among the Romans also, the material blessings of life were conditioned by the proper relationship between men and gods.[44] The purpose of the Augustan revival of the old religion was to bring about the proper relationship between the people and gods of the land. But in a large part of the empire, the people began to feel that Augustus himself was the great god who dwelt in the land. Vergil, as many others,[45] saw in him a god who would bring an end to the wars and close forever the gates of Janus: "He (the child Augustus) shall bring peace to the world, ruling it with his father's might. On thee, O child, the earth, as her first offerings, shall pour everywhere without culture creeping ivy with lady's glove, and Egptian beans with smiling acanthus intermixed. . . . But as soon as thou shalt be able to read the praises of heroes and the achievements of thy sire, and to know what virtue is, the field shall by degrees grow yellow with ripening corn, blushing grapes shall hang on the rude brambles, and hard oaks shall drip with dewy honey. . . . ."[46]

> "This, this is he, so oft the theme
> Of your prophetic fancy's dream,
> Augustus Caesar, god by birth;
> Restorer of the age of gold
> In lands where Saturn ruled of old."[47]

The Halicarnassus inscription sums up the blessings which came through the reign of Augustus: "Now the eternal and immortal power of all nature bestowed benefactions in superabundance upon men, granting to our own life's good fortune Caesar Augustus, father of his own native land, Rome divine; also patrimonial Zeus and savior of the common race of mankind, all of whose prayers Providence has not only fulfilled but even surpassed. For earth and sea have peace, cities flourish, well governed, harmonious, and prosperous, the course of all good things has reached a climax, and all mankind has been filled with good hopes for the future and good cheer for the present."[48]

As long as the prosperity of the nation seemed dependent upon the emperor, honor was duly given him. In the East there was no hesitation to dedicate temples even to the living emperor; but in the West, particularly at Rome, the people seemed reluctant to acknowledge that a living ruler was divine, and when steps were taken in that direction, it was by the emperor himself.[49] But after the deification of Julius Caesar in 42 B. C. by a decree of the senate, there seems to have been no official reluctance to extend the same honors to other members of the royal line after their death.[50] It may be noted in passing that the emperors were called *divi* not *dei*. That is, they had become gods, they had not always been such. Yet in the popular mind this distinction was not clearly made. In these facts, it is to be observed that the emperor cult failed to satisfy many of the religious needs of the society in which it was maintained. The ruler might be recognized as a savior-god, because of his good acts as a ruler. At least he would be honored as one after his death. But once admitted to the ranks of the *divi* he had no significant function. The part that he had played and for which he had been honored was now being filled by a living emperor. The only wants which would be satisfied through the worship of a Caesar were those growing out of the immediate needs of the citizen-worshipper, a desire for peace and prosperity. As a matter of experience, the whims of the emperor were not very dependable, and even tangible benefits for which the ruler might be honored, might be denied, property might be appropriated for the enrichment of royal coffers, and even death imposed upon a one-time favorite. Even material salvation rested on an uncertain basis.

When the balance is struck, emperor worship is not found to have been very rich in the religious satisfactions which were demanded, genuine as the positive side may have been. It offered through its rites and ceremonies little personal encouragement to an individual as such, but rather to the collective interests of subjects. It gave no promise of future life in any of the ways offered by the mystery cults and philosophies. It did not stimulate to an ethical cleansing of the inner life, for the only sin in this cult was insubordination, lèse-majesté. It was not concerned with the betterment of the social conditions; it would let the slave remain a slave. In fact it was based on the asserted validity of the ruler-subject status.[51] In the commonplace beliefs, the superstitions of Rome, which called for some sort of religious satisfactions, the cult of the emperor was still more impotent. The typical Greek desire for a renovation of man's nature by the contact of a powerful god nature with his corrupt being, was not and could not be met by emperor worship. The ruler was a powerful person, not a powerful substance, and he could help only as one person helps another.

Boissier[52] credits the cult of Caesar with having a religious alongside a civil character, and urges that as the cult advanced, it did so at the expense of its religious quality. It should be said, however, that the Romans saw no such distinction. The religious and civil phases were blended into a consistent whole. To explain its shortcomings, it is not adequate to depend upon judgments which were not present to the Romans. One must go back to the ideas and impulses in the midst of which it moved, and there its shortened range of religious power is more easily understood.

Though the cult of the emperor lacked the power of changing nature or essence, it possessed the other element of a successful soteriology and one which functioned prominently in Mithraism, Judaism and Christianity, viz., the acceptance of the leadership of a powerful being. And yet, as has been shown above, it was for no great cause. There was no idealization of the struggle between good and evil which was particularly prominent in the Persian religion. The leadership of Mithra guaranteed salvation now and in the future life, a salvation from every kind of ill from which men sought release, and challenged the believer to a heroic conflict. Christianity, also employing the idea of leader-

ship, satisfied a wide range of demands. The cult of the emperor, though genuinely religious and actually promising the salvation of peace and plenty, did not cover some of the most important needs of man, and, as a quest for salvation, yielded in religious supremacy, to those richer faiths of the Graeco-Roman world.

The Aim of the Graeco-Roman Philosophers.

The philosophic legacy which came down to the thinkers who lived at the beginning of the Christian era and immediately before, was one of pure thought, of cosmic speculation. The earliest attempts of Greek philosophers, for the most part, grew out of the dissatisfaction which the Ionians experienced when they began to criticize the explanations of the cosmic enigma offered by the mythologists. That the gods had made the universe was to say that men had made it, and such a conclusion was impossible. They boldly turned to other solutions of their difficulty, and even went to the extent of denying outright the basis of all previous belief, the existence and power of the gods. No adequate solution was reached, and the problems which had been raised were never answered in the terms of the original discussion.

The philosophy of Plato and of Aristotle was quite vitally related to the political ambitions of the times. The practical aspects of their teachings were colored by the ethical considerations of public duty. Plato's Republic was somewhat of the nature of a model plan, which, if followed, would tend to solve the difficulties of social and governmental life with which the Greeks as a nation were contending. There is more than a fancied connection between the Greek πόλις and its problems, and the ideal which the philosophers were attempting to express. This is indicated by the fact that the classic philosophy declined with the state, and gave way to other phases of speculation more consonant with the new governmental and social experiments. The unity of the world was being impressed upon the minds of the thinkers through the ascendence of the ideal of a world-wide empire. Parallel to this was the Stoic insistence on the absolute unity of the universe, viewed from the philosophic standpoint, and vitally expressed in the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. A similar broadening of thought occurred in the experiences of the Jews after the dissolution of their national life. With this line of

development there went, almost of logical necessity, an emphasis upon the affairs of the individual.

The late Grecian philosophy has been severely criticised because it lacks the noble qualities which Plato and Aristotle bestowed upon their systems.[53] It is quite true that "they gave themselves up to the petty interests of private life and personal affairs". But this estimation is in itself a vindication. The poignancy of the social struggle was as keen in the heart of the philosopher as in the heart of the religious enthusiast. They both sought to solve the same problem though they used different and opposing means. The philosophies themselves were by no means unified. Epicurean, Stoic, Sceptic, and others, vied with one another in gaining public favor. The differences between the systems were greatly exaggerated in the interests of propagandism, and often the ideal of service was for a time obscured.

During the period in which flourished those philosophies which to some extent came into contact with early Christianity, there were some systems which possessed unusual vigor. All were inclined to be syncretistic, and because of this fact they were not always to be sharply differentiated. Of the many phases of thought which were widely disseminated throughout the Mediterranean world, three representative philosophies may be taken to illustrate the intellectual attempts made in the effort to solve the problem of the universe and thus serve men by helping them gain a safe or at least tolerable place in the system. Epicureanism, Stoicism, and later, Neo-Platonism, were very influential among the thinking people, and even attained a remarkable degree of popularity through their efforts in the direction of practical service.[54]

Epicurean Philosophy.

Epicureanism, by the bitterness of its polemic, was isolated from the other philosophies of the day, in spite of the kinship it had with them through the common problem of marking out a safe course of life by which the miseries of life might be avoided. The hostility which resulted in this wide breach, did not spring out of an impassable gulf of disagreement, but rather out of the desire of Epicurus' followers, to make him, with his system, the only savior of men.

Epicurus set out to define the problem of life and to offer his solution. Being practical he was quite likely to be indifferent to exact analysis and hostile to pure reason. His system is peculiar in that it arose as a protest against religion, and almost made the declaration, by so doing, that it sought to save men from the gods. Reduced to his simplest terms, the task of Epicureanism was, first, to save men from the fear of gods and of death; and second, to save them from incompleteness of life, (which it expressed in terms of the simplest known emotions, pleasure and pain). The solution in each case was an intellectual one. To abolish fear of the gods and of death, an atomistic explanation of the universe was urged. The science of physics was appealed to,—the only science that Epicurus recognized. To save men from narrowness and incompleteness of life, Epicurus told them to understand what pleasure truly was and to follow it. The solution of the problem of the universe which Epicurus employed was not his own. He borrowed it from the past, from Democritus. The world resulted from the action of atoms. No cause outside the atoms could be assigned; no God moved the atoms in their course. While the theory does not close the circle entirely, as we view his system, it was designed to do so. By this bold stroke, he lopped off the whole problem of the vital relation of man to the gods. The value of the atomic theory is not primarily as an explanation of the universe, but as a soothing draught for distracted men, who after once accepting the dogma, need no longer seek to placate the anger of the gods. Similarly, if the soul does not exist after death, there can be no unknown future, fraught with terrors and torment.[55] Of course, there is no fear, and physical science is the medium of salvation. If some other scheme had lent itself as readily to the desired result, it would have been adopted. However, there was nothing quite as effective at this point.

The elaborated theory of the atoms served in some degree to take the place of the old theology, though the Epicureans did not ever deny the existance of the real gods. They vigorously opposed belief in the gods of popular thought, on the ground that the true gods could not be apprehended by the senses as the older belief set forth.[56] Epicureanism taught that the gods, made of superfine atoms, lived somewhere between the various worlds in a state of blessed immortality (contrary to the logic of his atomic theory

of constant change). Their function is somewhat difficult to see. If, as has been conjectured by Lachelier,[57] W. Scott,[58] and Giussani,[59] man according to this scheme receives his idea of God through the fact that the atoms are continually passing from the form of the god, which is replenished from other sources, (after the analogy of streams flowing into a lake and passing away in mist at the same time), then man obtains in this way a direct revelation of the life of supreme happiness which he should live. In fact it is more than a revelation, it is a direct incorporation of the divine substance by which this is made possible. But one can not go so far in the interpretation and elaboration of obscure passages.[60] One must be content with saying "that the gods, though material, are not firm and solid like the gross bodies of men and visible things, but are of a far finer texture, and that they have no numerical or material, but only formal identity."[61]

Not even Epicurus would have held that the chief perplexity of life had been solved by the adoption of the atomic theory of the universe. Forbidding as the unknown future was, and capricious as the will of the gods might be, there was the immediate and pressing question of conduct. We are aware of the social conditions and the changes of fortune that awaited man at every turn. One moment rich, poor the next; one moment free, a slave the next; the ruler's favorite or an exile. The theory of atoms could offer no solution for these difficulties.

The crowning feature of Epicurus' system was revealed at this point. The simplest and most universal emotions of life offered the best criterion by which the course of action might be determined. Men shrank naturally from that which gave pain and responded gladly to that which gave pleasure. Then pleasure was good, and pain was evil. This simple formula was the basis of the suggested theory of life. All men, Epicurus believed, could grasp the meaning of the terms. But this idea, like that of the origin of the universe, was borrowed from Democritus, in that he described his object of life to be a state of permanent bodily and mental tranquility and oblivion to the possible disturbances which threaten day by day.[62]

"The end of all our action is to be free from pain and apprehension. When once this happens to us, the tempest in the soul becomes a calm, and the organism no longer needs to make progress to anything which it lacks, or to seek anything further

to complete the good for soul and body. For we only need pleasure so long as the absence of it causes pain. As soon as we cease to be in pain we have no need of further pleasure. This is why we call pleasure the beginning and end of the happy life. It is recognized by us as our primal and con-natural good, and is the original source of all choice and avoidance, and we revert to it when we make feeling the universal standard of good. Now it is **because** this is our primal and con-natural good that we do please to have every pleasure, but sometimes pass by many pleasures when a greater inconvenience follows from them, and prefer many pains to pleasures when a greater pleasure follows endurance of the pain. Every pleasure then is a good, as it has the specific character of the good (i.e., to attract us for its own sake), but not every pleasure is to be chosen; so also every pain is an evil, but not every pain should be always avoided.''[63]

In these words we have a full statement of Epicurus' theory of conduct, not too concretely stated. There is no question that he here sets up a standard of high ethical value, and in all probability it was so interpreted by himself and his followers. Elsewhere in the Letter to Menoeceus he is much more explicit. ''When we say, then, that pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the pleasures of sensuality, as we are understood to do by some, through ignorance, prejudice, or wilful misinterpretation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and trouble in the soul. It is not an unbroken succession of drinking feasts and of revelry, not sexual love, not in the enjoyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which greatest tumults take possession of the soul.''[64]

The most crucial point in Epicurus' system, pleasure, evoked the bitterest antagonism in its day. Stoic virtue and Epicurean pleasure seemed irreconcilable. But the final explanation of the terms lessens the distance between them, which in the first place was caused more by the rivalry of the schools than by the actual divergence of the ideas themselves. Indeed, Epicurus himself, though theoretically holding to the supremacy of pleasure over virtue, (which is a weak point in his scheme), cannot divorce the two in practice.[65]

In advocating pleasure versus pain, the Epicurean did not, as we saw above, seek the pleasures of the moment, nor those of the body. Yet by the very nature of the case, he was impelled to yield to them in some measure. The whole fabric of his philosophy rested on the basis of emotional feeling. Here lay the difficulty. Experience revealed the fact that the man was betrayed by emotions into bad conduct. Stoicism and Christianity called for a vigorous repression of bad emotions and Stoicism went even farther and demanded that all emotions be eradicated. But Epicureanism treated man as if he were a moral dyspeptic, whose flagging appetites should be wheedled and coaxed, but not overtaxed. Doubtless the success of the Epicurean philosophy was limited by this defect more than by any other. It was designed to save men from the fear of the gods and of death; but its chief object was to help men wend their way through the maze of perplexing questions of conduct, to save them from mistakes in judgment, and to turn their minds from dwarfing thoughts to enobling ones. In this it was least successful, for it was not really vigorous for a real conflict in life.

Stoic Philosophy.

Among the systems of philosophy prevalent in that day there is none more worthy of special consideration than that of the Stoa. The schools of Epicurus, of the Septics, and the natural descendants of the older systems (Aristotelian, Platonic, Pythagorean) carried on their propaganda with more or less success and with more or less tenacity of purpose. The Stoics, however, in the period immediately before and after the opening of the Christian era, assumed an importance which was not held by any other type of thought. The secret of Stoicism's success can hardly be attributed to the perfection of its structure. Other philosophies perhaps surpassed it on the purely intellectual side, incorporated fewer inherent contradictions, and revealed to the eye of the critic fewer gaps in logical development. The outward appearance of the Stoic scheme may reveal to us many imperfections; but its ability to penetrate to the heart of human distress, and to calm all fears and to heal all wounds, can leave no doubt in our minds that it won its popularity by merit.

The change from conventional philosophy to religious philosophy is nowhere more evident than in Stoicism. The mythology

and the physical philosophies had attacked one human problem, and had offered their explanations of the universe, its creation and government. But no final conclusion had been reached and human wonder was unsatisfied. No social or individual crisis depended on a correct answer, however. The Stoics were particularly interested in extricating themselves from the tangle of opposing circumstances in which they found themselves enmeshed. Their kinship with the thinkers of the preceding age naturally impelled them to use reason, the highest faculty which they possessed, and not to resort openly to any specially God-given power, that they actually might have some short-cut to the end.

The concrete forms of life from which they wished release were manifold, but most of them were revealed in the unevenness of social life, in slavery, poverty, ignorance, blood-shed, of power contrasted with weakness. Men were uncertain, fearful; turning hither and thither in the search for rest. Epictetus, for instance, wished to make it clear that one should live far above the trials which faced the average citizen of the Roman Empire in his day. Exile, slavery, death might come, but they could be evils only to those who made them such.[66]

What made exile or death evils? This was the question that the thinking Stoics sought to answer. All matter was divine in origin, and only removed by a few stages from its source. There was no ultimate evil destiny awaiting it. Death might even hasten the return of man's portion of pure Logos (the soul) to the great and powerful Logos. It was not death which was evil, but the fear of it, and fear was a mistaken judgment. The Stoic reasoned that one of the hindrances to his attianment of Happiness and Security was **fear** of the uncertainties which confronted him.

Again, the ideal world of the Stoic was ruled by Reason, the highest force which his experience knew. If Reason had had the final decision regarding human action, no mistaken judgment would have been made, and no fear would have been present to distract men. But the fact of life was this: men were not ruled by Reason, but by Desire or the result of failing to use Reason. Their emotions drove them back and forth, and across the whole arena of life, with no uniform direction and no hope of a goal, because of these mistaken judgments.

Although Fear and Desire seem to be the ultimate forms of evil emotions which delude humanity in its search for happiness, the practical bent of Stoic philosophy early divided them into the common emotions of experience.

The Stoics were not too exact from the standpoint of psychology in the subdivision of these emotions. They ran through the whole list of minor and major emotions which were expressed by their language even if the terms were not well understood. The object was to obtain a workable list of faults and vices, that the more significant part of their work might be carried out with at least a semblance of scientific exactness.

The problem of salvation from these emotions was one which lay within the limits of man's earthly existence. All false judgments resulting from Desire and resulting in Fear affected this life. The fear of death was not a cause of disturbance because of the possible outcome of the soul after the disintegration of the body, but because of the disquietude called forth by anticipation of the event. Thus any salvation from these fears must be a present salvation.

Again Epictetus offers enlightenment, this time with regard to the state to which men wished to be saved. "No one then who is in a state of fear or sorrow or perturbation is free; but whoever is delivered from sorrows and fears and perturbations, he is at the same time delivered from servitude."[67]

To sum up the discussion of the form of the problem of salvation in Stoicism, the following suggestions are offered for consideration. The political and social breakdown involved the noble minded thinking man in a complexity of difficulties from which he had no outward means of escape. Exile or death might be ordered by a capricious despot; poverty might come from the same source; friendship was not strong enough or secure enough to guarantee any degree of continuing satisfaction. Against all this the great souls of some philosophers rebelled. But to what avail? A reformation of society in its outward form was impossible, and indeed unthought of. Hence safety was sought in the life of the soul itself. The evils of life were not denied; they were surmounted and ignored. The Stoic believer was thus saved from them, as if they no longer existed for him.

Such was the form of the problem of salvation in that age and thought. We now turn to the solution which the Stoa offered.

Zeno and his followers thought of salvation as an object to be striven for, as a goal of attainment. The dignity of the thinking man precluded any thought of a salvation by redemption. In other words man must be his own savior, 'the Master of his fate, the Captain of his soul'. The peace and quiet of salvation came only at the end of a long struggle; *vivere miltare est.* But when peace came the soul of man was instantaneously released from all the limitations of oppressing evil. There was no intermediate state in which a man was neither good nor bad, or partly good and partly bad, since the corresponding moral states were at opposite poles. It is true that progress was involved in passing from good to evil,[68] but progress in the direction of virtue was not virtue itself. That was only attained at the completion of the journey. "Virtue admits of neither increase nor diminution," "and there is no mean between virtue and vice".[69]

But the Stoics were faced by the problem of making clear by what process a man was to "work out his salvation", and by means of what power. They resorted to the primary tenet of their faith; that all existing things were of the nature of God; and man, since he alone of all creatures, had in his soul a part of the Primal Logos, was able to rise in the scale of life by exercising the powers within himself.[70]

The Stoics viewed this divine quantum from various angles; sometimes it was λογικὴ ψυχή, sometimes νοῦς, or διάνοια, (reasoning aspect, reason, intellect). In any event it was that part which acted as Reason in the narrower sense of the word, and on the other hand, that which chose as Will, from the results of reasoning, and gave assent to any course of action.

This God-within functioned in Stoic thought in a fashion not essentially different from that of revelation in Judaism and Christianity; or more exactly, like the sacramental and transforming power of which man availed himself in the mystery cults. The Stoic philosopher realized that man was not of himself able to lift himself to a higher level, but he would not employ the idea of special revelation as other faiths did. He sought to preserve for man the dignity of self-compulsion and self-achievement. The disdain with which he would ordinarily look upon an out and out redemption religion may well be imagined. Yet even proud Stoicism in the midst of its great task, could not maintain its system intact. The utter helplessness

of man and the crying need of his soul, however divine it might be, tended to lead the Stoic dogma in the direction of the humbler faiths. Even as early as Cleanthes (321-232 B.C.) there seem to be some traces of this feeling. The warmth of his hymn to Zeus, is made more fervid by the urgent appeal for help with which the hymn closes.

"But, Zeus all-bountiful! the thunder-flame
And the dark cloud thy majesty proclaim:
From ignorance deliver us, that leads
The sons of men to sorrow and to shame.
Wherefore dispel it, Father, from the soul
And grant that Wisdom may our life control,
Wisdom that teaches thee to guide the world
Upon the path of justice to its goal."[71]

Yet in spite of this intrusion of more or less hostile ideas the Stoic plan of salvation remained essentially as it was at first. The God-within, functioning as Reason, assisted man in reaching correct judgments, the first step in attaining individual security; when Reason was not followed, a mistaken judgment resulted. On the other hand, the God-within, functioning as Will, helped one to "make the right use of appearances", or in other words, the right use of the experiences of life that come to us through the senses, to follow up a correct judgment.[72]

The exercise of the will is directed against the emotions which by nature are opposed to divine Reason. It is the emotions from which Stoics wish to be saved; from Fear and Desire, primarily, and also from all the forms of these monstrous evils. It has already been pointed out that there is no half-way point of safety between Virtue and Evil. Just so, there is no regulation of the desires; only total suppression is adequate. Plato, Aristotle, and later the Epicureans held that the emotions should not be eradicated, but should rather be subdued. But the Stoic held no doctrine of the mean. He sought ideal freedom from the appeal of emotion, though of course he never secured it. One of the most marvelous features about the whole history of the Stoa is that it adhered so loyally to an ideal, which it urged as practicable in one breath, and in another, acknowledged never to have been attained, unless by some one whose sacred memory had obscured

the facts. Thus the ideal Wise Man is one in whom there is not the slightest trace of anything which is opposed to Reason.[73]

The practical difficulty which arose at this point, i. e., in explaining the actual suppression of emotion as other than regulation, was met in a very ingenious way. An emotion, when once subordinated to reason was no longer an emotion, having lost its violent character; therefore it was entirely suppressed, uprooted.[74] By this process of reasoning, Virtue is set forth in its negative aspects; it is apathy.[75] But as an object of effort it assumed a more positive character. It is the negative side of virtue which impels some to charge Stoicism with being virtuous but not moral. In fact, Virtue as Apathy, and Evil as Fear, do lack moral qualifications. Stoicism, charted and mapped in terms of philosophy and psychology by critics of another generation, is one thing; lived out amidst the tests of life, it is another. It need hardly be suggested that the school of Zeno carried out an ethical program of commendable worth, and by so doing, made known its saving power.

What were the limits of Stoic salvation? Logically there could be no limits beyond this present life, for there was no Hell awaiting man beyond the gates of Death. The Stoic's Hell was on this earth, or in other words, this world became Hell, as man was forced to stay here. When the Fire of one's soul was made free at death it sped away to join that Fire from which it came.[76]

Since every soul was eager to be absorbed into the original Fire, there could be no hope of a personal immortality. Such a belief on the lips of such individuals as Zeno and his followers seems strange; it can only be explained by the universal gloom and pessimism which governed each man's thought in that age.

But stranger still, is the Stoic doctrine of conflagrations. A compromise seems to have been struck between the Oriental teaching of rest in the divine and of transmigrations of souls, and the more typical Occidental craving for individual expression, the latter being secured for good and bad alike through an infinite number of cycles of absorptions, conflagrations, and emanations.

This, however, is only one of several changes which came into Stoic thought, and chief among these was the rise of the conception of evil as inherent in matter. The logical position of Stoicism was that all existence originally was a part of the

divine Logos. Body and soul were of the same substance. Thus Stoicism was monistic. But Posidonius (and he seems to have been the first), set himself in direct opposition to this view, being influenced, in all probability, by Platonic and Pythagorean dualism. He speaks explicitly thus: "The cause of passions, the cause, i. e., of disharmony and of unhappy life, is that men do not follow absolutely the daimon that is in them, which is akin to, and has a like nature with, the Power governing the whole kosmos, but turn aside after the lower principle and let it run away with them. Those who fail to see this . . . do not perceive that the first point in happiness is to be led in nothing by the irrational, unhappy, godless element in the soul."[77] It is not clear that Posidonius went to the same extent that the Neo-Pythagoreans did in ascribing an evil nature to matter. But at least, he was steeped in the thought that was current at the beginning of the Christian era, which taught that physical life was subjected to temptation, because of some evil tendency that was inherent in it. Something of this kind was implicit in the original Stoicism which postulated a gradation of logos matter. It was only necessary to draw a sharp line somewhere between the extremes and produce a dualism. Salvation then became openly a metaphysical affair. It was necessary for the pure Logos to drive out the evil and hostile nature before a man could be saved. Formerly it was only necessary for pure Logos to revitalize what had once been pure Logos, and was still Logos, though lacking in primal force. Other more or less fantastic ideas came in to supplement this divergence from the original teaching, yet the Stoic plan of salvation received no essential change. The God-within helped man in his judgments; and whatever was the view of the future life, it was the pure Logos which helped man. Though Stoicism always exalted human efforts to a dignified position, it could not trust man's ability alone. The powerful god-stuff must in some way regenerate man's nature.

It remains to consider the adequacy of Stoicism in meeting the craving of its day for salvation. Crossley[78] speaks of Stoicism as "the system that stood to Pagan Rome more nearly than anything else in the place of a religion," while Rendall[79] remarks that "its history resembles that of a religion rather than a speculative system." Since every system of thought, whether philosophic or religious, is the creation of a social group for its

own needs, we can form some estimate of the adequacy of Stoicism, by considering its geopraphical distribution, the universality of its acceptance wherever it went, the permanency of its appeal, and the quality of life which it inspired. The first three points are fairly clear in every exposition of history. Wherever the typical Graeco-Roman culture went, Stoicism went; it was adopted by men in all ranks, Epictetus was a slave, Marcus Aurelius was an emperor; it endured just so long as the needs which produced it, endured, and so long as it was able to change as needs changed. As for the quality of the Stoic life, our growing historical sense is creating an increasing appreciation of the heroism of its advocates, and the genuineness of their belief.

Neo-Platonism.

The Stoics and Epicureans were materialists. In common with the thought of the time, they saw the world as "one". Instead of employing the dualism of Plato and Aristotle, they eliminated what troubled them most, the "spiritual" element, and subsumed all under a material category, among the Epicureans, the atomic theory, and among the Stoics, the Logos doctrine. But the metaphysical treatment was not more prominent than the practical phases of their thought, as had been the case with their great predecessors.

The last great effort of the Greek mind to solve the riddle of the uinverse was Neo-Platonism. As its name suggests it was an attempt to revive the thought of Plato. It was characterized by a great reverence for the past and its teaching. And though it did consciously attempt to gain sanction for its own premises by an appeal to traditional authority, there was present a considerable amount that had not been taught by Plato or his contemporaries. It is somewhat difficult to arrive at many of the actual antecedents of the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus, the greatest and most representative exponent of the system. The records of his lectures are preserved in the account of Porphyry, his pupil (the Enneads), but they are there tinged to a considerable degree by Neo-Pythagorean sentiments not held by the great teacher himself. Other Neo-Platonists also incorporated elements of Neo-Pythagoreanism, which was essentially dualistic in contrast with real Neo-Platonism. On the whole, the system is diffi-

cult to trace out in details, though the main lines are fairly distinct.

Ammonius Saccas, who lived in the latter part of the second century A. D. and the first part of the third, is known as the founder of this system of philosophy. The most prominent of his pupils was Plotinus, whose teaching is almost synonymous with Neo-Platonism. He was born in A.D. 204 at Lycopolis in Egypt. Porphyry and Iamblichus are other outstanding members of the school which had its chief center at Alexandria. At times the contact between Neo-Platonism and Christianity has been rather close. Ammonius Saccas is said to have been a Christian at one time. Augustine was an adherent of the school before he became a Christian, and, if one may judge by some phases of his thought, he was always a Neo-Platonist. Finally, however, the movement broke down, having made its last great effort in the revival of paganism under the Emperor Julian. Its teaching was perpetuated in many of the orthodox doctrines of the Christian church where the name of Plato was long reverenced.

Neo-Platonism was essentially a metaphysical system, and as such was a product of Greek thought, not Oriental, though it yielded in times to many of the ideas of the East. Plotinus was anxious to serve humanity by opposing materialism, scepticism, and dualism, and to this end his metaphysics was shaped. In briefest form, his analysis of the universe is as follows: spirit and matter are distinguished, and Reason is separated from the lower functions of conscious life, by means of his theory of gradations. This begins with the One, which is also designated by other titles; then follow Reason, Soul, the sensible world, and unformed matter. Plotinus opposed the theory of emanations of Gnostic speculation, on the ground that it implies a diminishing Absolute. He believed the the One did not create by separation into parts, but by overflowing out of its superabundance. Thus the lower gradations were not really emanations from the One, though derived from it. His monism ventured into dangerous ground at this point, and subsequent development of the system resulted in a dualism similar to that effected by the later Stoics. Plotinus derived matter from the One as far as existence is concerned, but did not make the One responsible for the value of matter. But the distinction between the source and the derived matter came to be made primarily on the ground of value. Whereas Plotinus

made the opposition relative, on the ground that the One was true Being and the Good, and a thing was evil in proportion as it was removed from its source, his followers made the distinction absolute, not relative, on the basis of quality.

Thus Plotinus may be said to deny a metaphysical evil by saying that every gradation is good in itself, i. e., relatively. He opposed the Gnostics because they slighted the body and the senses.[80] The body was good as a body, just as a house was good as a house, though one might move into a palace later. On the other hand, he affirmed evil implicitly at least, by postulating a gradation of perfection. Later Neo-Platonists, as has already been noted, seized upon this phase of thought, and then had an evil from which man was to be saved. The metaphysical system of Neo-Platonism is of interest to us because of this problem.

Originally salvation was realization of perfection by all parts of the universe. The reversal of the process by which all things were derived was the means by which man was saved. The good was superabundant; it overflowed until all the relative goods were perfected.[81] That is, human beings existed as souls in the One Soul, and at birth flowed out into quasi-independent souls. This situation in itself was not bad, but became so when each sub-soul forgot its source and final resting place. "She (the soul) must free herself from all outer beings, and turn to what is altogether within; she must have no inclination towards, may not know of, outer things. Rather must she pass beyond consciousness of them all first with respect to her own condition and then with respect to the intelligible existences. She must lose consciousness, too, of herself, and attain to the vision of God, and become one with him."[82] The method by which one became idenitfied with God was contemplation. Theory was above practice.[83] If the soul was not fascinated by its own creative work, and turned back in reflection to her own source, she would be in no danger. Her duty was to exercise her better nature in contemplation.[84]

Apparently Plotinus believed that there was a divine quality in man which was pure and unassailable, and which, if followed, would lead him back to the One Soul. In this Neo-Platonism follows the main outline of Stoicism. Each believed in a divine insert. The Stoics thought of it as substance, Logos, with the properties of fire. The Neo-Platonists, though they were opposed to giving attributes, called it Soul, Reason, or the One, and de-

scribed its activity, not in terms of material fire, but of contemplative thought. Just as the Stoic was to be fused into the great Logos out of which he came, so the Neo-Platonist was to be blended again wih the One. This mystic experience was rare. Man might live an ordinary life, following natural instincts; or he might live on the plane of discursive reason. Occasionally one might attain to the ecstatic life of God. Plotinus, so Porpyhry tells us, had this experience four times in the six years during which they were associated, and Porphyry himself attained to it once, at the advanced age of sixty-eight.

In all this there is a great deal which reminds us of Indian thought. There is the same desire to strip off all attributes in an effort to reach the unalloyed purity of the All One. All physical elements are foreign to pure being, and all descriptive terms tend to limit and entangle in materialism. Hence god is indescribable,—simply the One. And the state of divine bliss to which all wish to rise, is a sort of Nirvana (which is not oblivion, as popularly believed), in which all distinctions between the subject and object are lost in the complete identity which results.[85]

It is not necessary to examine here the developments which took place under the influence of Neo-Pythagorean dualism. It is at once obvious that many of the points already alluded to would only be more sharply accentuated. The Good, as pure spirit, would be set over against the Evil, or Matter. And salvation from Evil would be more picturesque by reason of the opposition. The ecstatic state occasionally reached in this life in which one transcended all material surroundings, would be continued in the future life, by an awakening free from the thralldom of the body, as Plotinus himself said.[86] [87]

It is diffcult to evaluate the philosophies of the Graeco-Roman world in relation to the problem of salvation, by means of a simple summary. On the whole, it may be said that there lies behind them all a practical dualism, whether the system be theoretically dualistic or not. One phase of the universe is evil, incomplete, or otherwise undesirable; the other phase is pure, "one". Man seeks to relate himself to the latter, but can only do so by virtue of his original connection with the divine or pure essence which guarantees the present incorporation of a sufficient amount of divinity to make his salvation possible. It is when man's real being, freed from all dross, comes into contact with

God or is identified with him that he is saved. Ethics follows in the theory as a secondary matter, however important it may be. Good conduct is evidence of the exercise of the divinity within one. Man's part comes in the volitional use of that divine essence which is already in him, but after all he is not the sole creator of his own salvation, or even the first. The philosophies are chiefly to be differentiated from Judaism by the absence of the picturesque beliefs in a personal savior who performs certain acts designed to effect a reconciliation between God and Man. The philosophers taught that each man was saved through a quality, an essence, which was within, and which was capable of transforming human nature. Among the Jews, however, there was the belief that men dealt with God as a person. It was an act which pleased him, not a substance which merged with him, that effected salvation. The same is true of the emperor cult, in so far as it had religious significance. The mysteries had the same underlying principle that characterized the philosophies,—that of a divine substance blending with and purifying humanity by a sort of semi-magical, semi-scientific manipulation of forces.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN QUEST FOR SALVATION

In the preceding pages the attempt has been made to evaluate the historic phases of Jewish and Graeco-Roman religious life as quests for salvation. There can be no doubt that the literature which has been left to us out of these movements indicates the keen desire for betterment of position which sent those ancient peoples farther out into the field of faith and speculation in an attempt to fathom the uncertainties of their experience. The stimuli which raised the questions were not innate in the mental make-up of the people. There was nothing there which pre-determined the form and quality of the solution offered. Much less was there a divinely revealed finality either to question or answer. Rather were the statements regarding salvation simply the registration of attempts made to anticipate what would or should take place for the good of the distressed.

It is important to note at the outset that each characteristic statement may not be an entirely new solution or even partially so, but that it registers the beliefs evolved in certain rather definite social situations. Thus the soteriology of Jewish faith, varying widely as we have seen, was conditioned always by the experiences within the group, and particularly by the opposition of that group to all others with which it came into contact. So rigid were the ideas of nationality that the idea of a saved kingdom was never given up, though it was somewhat dissipated by the rise of individualism after the defeat of earthly ambitions and by the erection of apocalyptic hopes. In the absence of a unified social life in the Graeco-Roman world, the wide diversity of interests tended to foster a great deal of variation and inconsistency of religious belief. In all cases people sought salvation in terms of what they had experienced and were still experiencing. Changes in experiences were marked by changes in the hopes of salvation.

These altogether obvious conclusions are of considerable value to us in taking up the study of Christian salvation beliefs. There is no reason to suppose that a different process operated here. On the other hand, the actual task now before us is to determine what were the influences which caused Christians to adopt such interpretations of their religious life as they did, and in what way they

operated. If there was anything in the formative period of Christian thought which was distinct from the factors operating in other religions, it will manifest itself in an adequate study and make possible an evaluation of the worth and meaning it had for those who possessed it.

In taking up the consideration of early Christian interpretations of the quest for salvation, care must be exercised in giving the Christian movement its proper setting in the midst of its surroundings. With regard to the earliest stage of its development this is by no means an easy task, for the simple reason that no Christian documents have been preserved from this period. The epistles of Paul, the earliest Christian records which we possess, bear the stamp of the second stage of the movement's history, during which influnces not common to the most primitive form of Christianity may have produced some changes. The same is true of the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. As for the Fourth Gospel, it belongs still farther along in the time when non-Jewish thought was coming into the foreground. The remaining literature of the New Testament is at least post-Pauline and cannot be the product of the first years of the Christian group. The Apocalypse of John, while revealing some features which must have been present from the very first in that type of Christianity which most closely approached the eager Jewish apocalypticism, is nevertheless a relatively late product.

Although it is the purpose of the present study to ascertain as far as possible what the soteriology of the earliest Christians was, it is not our task to discover what were the teachings of Jesus upon the subject. At best the teachings of Jesus, if discoverable, would not of themselves constitute a quest for salvation. However distinctive they may have been in the midst of a formal religion, they were only a variation of the Jewish quest which has already been considered. Aside from a limited number of passages the Synoptic Gospels do not indicate that Jesus repudiated the traditional religion of his people or preached a message of universalism. Slight traces of universalism do occur in the resurrection accounts, in the Matthean and Lucan introductions, and rarely in the body of the gospels. The teachings of Jesus, even in these documents which received their final form after the time of primitive Christianity, are everywhere to be identified with the Jewish quest for salvation.[1] Even as sources for later beliefs,

their value to us would be rendered somewhat uncertain by the indisputable fact that beliefs which Jesus did not possess, were introduced into the Christian message and obliterated its primitive form, and can hardly be differentiated now from the original statements. It is just this fact which complicates the task of discovering what the earliest group of Jesus' followers actually thought and taught. It would be easier to build up the main message of the early Christians from contemporary Jewish religion than from the best possible reconstruction of Jesus' message from the data now at hand. The points generally emphasized as characteristic of Jesus' teaching are those variations from the traditional Jewish thought which it is assumed that he made. The issue of the matter is that the determination of what the earliest preachers of Christianity set forth is not greatly hindered by the uncertainty of what Jesus himself taught. Our immediate problem is to discover the nature and the form, if possible, of the salvation beliefs which were built up about the person of the risen Christ by those unknown Christian preachers who served to perpetuate their sect in the midst of Jewish religious life until such time when necessity drove them out into Gentile surroundings in which certain adaptations became obligatory. The fact that Jesus was made prominent in the Christian message, constitutes a new quest, in this particular radically different from the traditional Jewish belief.

It follows then that any attempt to discover the ideals which Christians held prior to about A. D. 50 must be based upon a carefully and skillfully wrought reconstruction of the religious belief and hope of that period in the midst of which the new faith lived. The connection existing between early Christianity and Judaism is the foundation upon which all conclusions must rest. If Christianity were to be thought of as independent of Jewish religion, there could be no way of conjecturing with any degree of probability what were the outstanding features of the faith prior to the date of the surviving documents, which themselves bear no internal evidence of being unchanged records from an earlier generation. On the other hand, it is at once patent that Christianity, in its earliest discernible stage was not identical with Judaism, even though it existed for a time merely as a Jewish sect. However strenuously one may emphasize the Hellenistic character of Christianity at a later time, even to the extent

of claiming that the cult abandoned all Jewish connections in order to save itself from oblivion, it can not be urged that there was an original Christian movement at an early date which knew nothing of the religion of the Jewish people. It seems proper, therefore, to insist that the primitive Christian community can not be understood apart from its Jewish connections. It follows, also, that our enquiry into the nature of the earliest Christian quest for salvation must be entered upon through the medium of the relationship sustained between the mother faith and its schismatic descendant.[2] But this task cannot be an easy one in view of the absence of direct testimony to the message of the earliest Christians. There are two sources from which this message may be reconstructed, and both of these are indirect. They are 1) contemporary Jewish thought, with which it may be shown that Christianity once had connections, and 2) later Christian thought, such as the Pauline correspondence, the Synoptic Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in which are incorporated beliefs which can only have arisen out of an association of Jews and Christians as just suggested. The material in these documents which is not primitive and Jewish must be either a contribution from the Graeco-Roman world or a creation of the Christian community itself. The procedure to be followed in our enquiry must be that of determining as far as possible the relationship which existed between distinctly Jewish religion and that of the earliest Christians, and the kind of soteriology held by the Christians as suggested by the Jewish faith most consonant with such expressions of religion as may be seen in the earliest literature now preserved in the New Testament.

In disposing of the question as to the relationship which existed between the Jews and the Christians in the early years of the history of the latter, there are certain considerations of a very simple but primary character which must be taken into account. Thus the earliest Christians, by whatever distinguishing name they may have been called, were Jews, and, so far as known, Palestinians. On the geographical side, Christianity could be of Jewish origin only, unless by some chance Gentile culture had become well enough established in Palestine to offer its support to, or even create, a new religious movement. The extent to which Greek ideas had by this time penetrated Jewish life and thought is little more than a matter of conjecture at present,

although it is known that as early as the Maccabees violent opposition to Graecizing propaganda had arisen, and had been continued during the Roman period in the occasional outbursts of frenzy which the populace, incited by priests or other fanatics, participated in.[3] But even if foreign influences had become prominent in Palestine, by the first half of the first Christian century, there is nothing in subsequent developments within the new religious movement to indicate that they had operated perceptibly in its formation. The Church at Jerusalem was long considered the mother church, even after there had arisen a decided conflict in belief and practice.[4] This hostility between Jews and Christians does not presuppose the development of a Christian movement unrelated to the Jewish religion. If the Christian movement had developed unrelated, there would probably have been only temporary friction. In fact the antagonism between Jews and Christians points definitely to the origin and growth (for a time) of Christianity in Jewish soil.

Aside from such inferential judgments as the one just stated, there is some corroborative testimony of a somewhat positive character in the same direction. The Hellenistic Jewish Christian Stephen justified himself before the high priest by an appeal to the history of the Jews.[5] Though he opposed the Jews and was opposed by them, his chief defence was an unmistakable identification of his own faith with that which his accusers professed to believe. He even speaks of "our race" and "our fathers", as if by so doing he might rob his opponents of any opportunity to accuse him of being false to the sacred ideals of Jewish tradition.[6] The Apostle Paul seems to have taken a similar course in his defences before Jewish audiences.[7] Throughout he maintained that he was a loyal Jew "after the straightest sect of our religion", and "had done nothing against the people, or the customs of our fathers."

The vision of Peter and its interpretation,[8] also indicate how closely bound up with strictly Jewish life were the early Christians. This dream seems to have arisen to justify the hitherto unheard-of practice of admitting within the circle those who had not been rigid observers of the law of the Jews. Nothing less than the sanction of God's revelation could give this procedure a right to exist according to the estimation of probably a very large proportion of the leaders. Even with the validation of

the dream, the willingness of the more progressive met with decided opposition for some time, because of the fear that the faith of the Christian sect might itself become un-Jewish. It would seem that the Jews in their hostility to the still undifferentiated movement called it a sect, thus recognizing it as Jewish.[9] On the other hand, the advocates of the new message themselves saw no necessary cleavage, for some Jews who had identified themselves with the Way were still distinguished within the group by pre-Christian designations.[10]

Frequently in Acts and the Pauline correspondence there occur passages which show the jealousy of the rigid legalists at the admission of Gentiles who had in no way taken upon themselves the responsibility of keeping the law.[11] The conference at Jerusalem, the compromise, the preaching of Paul to the Gentiles, the success of that venture,[12] and his final decision to preach among the Jews no more, point unmistakably to a time just previous to his Gentile mission during which Christianity could have differed from conventional Judaism in but few points. Apparently the difference was summed up in one issue: Jesus was the Christ, to which the regular Jews could not assent.

The Gospels, apart from any question as to their accuracy in representing the thought and practice of the period with which they deal, may be called upon to testify to this same point. The instructions given to the apostles that they "go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans: but rather go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel",[13] are reminiscent of the early particularism shared by the Christian Jews and the regular Jews alike, or at least of the time when the question of the Gentile mission was raised. The story of the Syrophoenician woman[14] is similar in its import. With these may be associated the statement made in the Fourth Gospel that "salvation is from the Jews",[15]—an unexpected source for such a sentiment.

It is not necessary to submit additional evidence of the close bond which existed between Jews and the schismatic Christians prior to the greater break which took place a number of years after the death of Jesus, and in which, so far as our records inform us, Paul took the most prominent part. That there was a close, organic union is indisputable. The Christians worshipped with the Jews in the synagogues, visited the temple, kept the

law, in short were in entire accord with certain quite respectable Jews, (no doubt Pharisees), differing only on the identification of Jesus with the Messiah,[16] whom both groups awaited.

In as much as the Christians were at first nothing more than a sect of the Jews, it follows that the hope of salvation which they entertained was very like that which was held within contemporary Judaism. But since the Jews themselves were not agreed as to the way in which salvation could be secured, the problem of determining how the Christians first sought for a solution cannot be dismissed by the mere recognition of early Christianity's Jewish connections. There remains the further task of ascertaining with what phase of Jewish thought Christianity had closest affinities and in what particulars differences arose.

There were in Jewish religion, two extreme types of salvation belief. These were, on the one hand, the hope of a more or less militaristic and nationalistic conquest, and on the other, the hope of an apocalyptic salvation which was to find complete expression in the Heavenly Kingdom of God. Between these two extremes there were the various modifications which Jewish life produced.[17]

The first hope was the perpetuation of the ambitions and designs of that line of patriotic leaders of which David was the ideal. The most characteristic expression of this kind of salvation are to be seen especially in the final establishment of the Davidic kingdom, the burning passion of some of the prophets who endeavored to save Israel from the consequences of her downfall before the great power of her neighbors, and in the vain but heroic struggles of the Maccabees. The Zealots, as a party, not to mention several radical individuals, from time to time fanned the embers of nationalism into flames in the effort to try once more to save Israel from disappearing as a nation and to place her over the world as Jehovah intended from the first she should be. Such aspirations as these were dreaded by the Romans, and every effort was made to suppress all outbursts of fanaticism. The course of procedure followed by Rome in dealing with the Jews was largely determined by the necessity of forestalling any attempt made by unyielding Jews toward setting up an independent government.

But did the Christians themselves preach an earthly kingdom

for which they wished to secure recruits? It is impossible to think of Jesus as having been the advocate of such a means of salvation. It is far more probable that he was interested in the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom through the sudden intervention of Jehovah. But again it must be borne in mind that it is not Jesus' thought which must be fathomed, but rather that of those who preached the risen Christ as the savior and the central figure in the kingdom of God.

There are in the New Testament a few passages which seem to indicate that the Christian movement came into some contact with the ideal of the Davidic kingdom, but apparently without being fundamentally impressed by it. The genealogies employed by Matthew,[18] and Luke,[19] are inconsistent with the story of the miraculous birth, and are not necessary in connection with the belief in a Heavenly Messiah who is yet to come and establish his power. But it is here that occasion was given for adding to the apocalyptic Messiah the credentials, if not the mission, of the Davidic Messiah. Jesus, whom some of the early Christians had personally known, was again to come into their midst. The identification of Jesus and the Christ, while it recognized his task as that which had long been held by the fathers, did not automatically impute to him the method by which the Davidic Messiah had been expected to effect his great work. Other data, centering about the early days of Jesus' life, during which, according to the evangelists, his God-given qualifications were attested, are apparently to be interpreted in the same way. Thus Jesus was given the authority of the nationalistic Messiah (i. e., he was recognized by God through prophecy as destined to save his people), but not expected to establish the kingdom by the sword. In the annunciation of the angel to Mary,[20] Jesus was promised "the throne of his father David", "and of his kingdom there shall be no end". Similarly the Magi came and enquired of Herod, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?"[21] The prophecy of Zacharias [22], which reads like an Old Testament psalm, is an expression of hope for salvation from enemies of the people of God, and for peaceful repose in his presence. And Anna, the prophetess, when she saw the child Jesus, "spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem".[23] The language of these passages savors of the nationalistic type of salvation as it had been traditionally held by

certain groups of Jews. Coming from a period when interpretation of the mission of Jesus had reached a relatively advanced stage, these references are to be viewed in the same way as the genealogies, as enrichments of the credentials of Jesus, not as statements of belief that Jesus was to establish his Messianic kingdom by the sword.

The triumphal entry into Jerusalem[24] seems to reflect a popular belief in the Davidic kingdom which was in some way associated with Jesus. The inscription placed on Jesus' cross, however, while offering clear evidence that some Jews were expecting an able leader to overthrow the Roman yoke, at the same time establishes the fact that the evangelists themselves did not consider Jesus to be that leader.[25] The immediate followers are represented in Acts,[26] as asking Jesus before his ascension if he would at that time "restore the kingdom to Israel?"—a question which in view of the answer given, is most easily reconciled with a hope for the fulfilment of the nationalistic program.

In spite of the occasional passages which apparently set forth the more material aims of the Jewish people, it can hardly be supposed that sanction was given at any time in the history of the early Christian movement to propaganda in the direction of such a movement as developed in the time of the Maccabees or during any of the less significant periods of revolution. It is probable, however, that the credentials by which the Davidic king would establish his authority came to have in the minds of the early preachers of the Christian message a certain value in enriching the emotional response made to Jesus, now the risen Christ, who would soon come as God's vice-gerent in the Kingdom of Heaven. Such being the case, the first generation of Christians could look back and picture Jesus as an infant accredited fully as the Messiah by Davidic sonship as well as in other ways. There was a certain parallel between his entry into Jerusalem, at least in the minds of his later admirers, and that which the Davidic Messiah might make. The difficult problem of reconciling the earthly career of Jesus with his apocalyptic function was only made possible by appropriating some of the less conflicting imagery of the Son of David with which to make the years of Jesus' life among men seem significant. Belief in the ideal Heavenly Messiah did not neccessitate very clear definitions.

In Jewish thought this Messiah was seldom prominent.[27] The less attention there was centered upon the earthly life of Jesus and the more upon his apocalyptic function, the fewer would be the allusions to him in terms of the Davidic Messiah.

When it was that the Christians began to interpret the life of Jesus in connection with his Messiahship can not be said. In the early part of Acts, in which are contained some of the most primitive expressions of Christian faith, the principal message is seen as the announcement of Jesus as the Messiah, i. e., the apocalyptic Messiah. While on earth Jesus was "a man approved of God by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him".[28] But "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified."[29] The crucial point by which all faith was tested was belief in Jesus as the coming Messiah. A reconstruction of the preaching of the period after the death of Jesus and before the time of Paul's known activity, calls for the postulation of a certain lapse of time during which there was no keen interest in the earthly life of Jesus and consequently no necessity of a reconciliation of that life with his future task, and during which Jesus was thought of as "a man approved of God" and "the Christ who hath been appointed".[30] At a later time, re-interpretations, such as those reviewed in the preceding paragraphs, became necessary. Paul's rather meagre testimony to the life of Jesus would indicate that this process had not been going on for long. By so far as the date of the interpretations is pushed forward, the length of the period during which primitive Christianity preached Jesus without specific Davidic qualifications is increased. But as indicated above, only the credentials, not the mission of the nationalistic Messiah, were attached to Jesus at any time during the period in question.[31]

It follows, therefore, that the earliest generation of Christians, who were not sharply separated from their Jewish brethren, did not follow those who sought to secure salvation in the way approved by the eager advocates of military measures who expected God to bless their swords and give the kingdom into their keeping. The evidence is scanty and indirect, but the inferences which may be drawn are valid in view of the more positive testimony to the adherence of the Christians to the conventional ideas of apocalyptic salvation supplemented by the one great

differentiating tenet of their faith, that Jesus whom they had known was none other than the Messiah of God.

A blending of the apocalyptic and Davidic Messianism had already taken place in the strictly Jewish thought under stress of an insistent nationalism.[32] This urgent particularism, so characteristic of Jewish religion at practically every point, was responsible for many of the outbursts of opposition to the police power established by Rome for the sake of order and quiet.[33] In the case of the earliest Christians, the nationalism of their Jewish inheritance was modified by the shifting of stress from the Kingdom itself to the Messiah and by the necessity of relating in a vital way, the earthly life of Jesus to his apocalyptic office. This tended also to give the Messiah a prominence as Savior, which was unnecessary and unusual in Judaism.

At the other extreme of Jewish soteriology from the nationalistic hope was the apocalyptic expectation. This was more thoroughly incorporated into Christian thought, if we may judge from the records, than was the nationalistic ideal. The Christians were the "spiritual descendants" of those Jews who had an other worldly interest. Pessimism with regard to the possibility of men securing a fulfilment of their desires under the leadership of a literal or figurative son of David, did not eventuate in absolute rejection of the hope of salvation. It was to be brought about, however, by one who had more of God's authority and power than could reside in any earth-born leader. The Messiah, though described with characteristic Jewish imagery, was nevertheless somewhat lacking in distinctness. The important thing was that Jehovah alone was powerful enough to redeem his children from their enemies into whose hands they had fallen because of their sins or because of unknown but unquestionable divine plans. The far removal of the source of saving power in the person of Jehovah and the indistinctness of his representative, the Messiah, was a clear challenge to those who believed in the risen Jesus as in some way bearing the credentials of the Messiah, to announce him as such, and thus vitalize the old faith by preaching a tangible savior possessed of all the power of Jehovah himself. That this was done is apparent from the New Testament, but the assumption that Jesus' admirers regarded him as Messiah while they were associated with him, is a matter open to serious question.

The enquiry as to whether or not the first Christians preached an apocalyptic message, is at least half answered in the affirmative by the decision that they were not Zealots anxious for the establishment of an earthly throne by the use of the sword. Again there is an embarassing absence of direct testimony on this point. The only evidence which may be brought forward is to be found in the contemporary teachings of the Jews who looked for the sudden manifestation of God's power and in the latter expressions of Christian faith as it is related to this subject.

Late Jewish apocalypticism has been dealt with in a former chapter and now needs only to be summarized. The failure of Jewish armies and statesmanship to make tangible the fond hopes of the nation's history, had resulted in the even more audacious belief that God, though angry because of their sins, would nevertheless give his people dominion over the earth and finally a life of eternal bliss in his presence. Further reflection on the disappointment of human hopes fostered the spirit of individualism, by which the faith in a personal resurrection and vindication was furthered. But always there was a longing for the salvation of the whole nation in the Kingdom of God. The Messiah, at first one appointed for the duties of leadership from out the ranks of men and later a heavenly being who had the power and authority of God, was not primarily the savior of men except as he was acting in the place of Jehovah himself. Those who were to enjoy the blessings of the kingdom life in the future, must qualify for it now. The conditions were met by so conducting oneself as to please God through whose kindness the result was to be effected. Although there was in all probability, a certain blending of nationalistic imagery with apocalyptic hope, there is little indication that the claimant to earthly messiahship was expected to die and ascend to heaven whence he would come with renewed power in order to carry out his task completely.[34] The Messiah can hardly under such circumstances have been thought of as the central figure in the cult. He was the medium through whom a transcendentalized God worked. He carried out the will of his overlord, Jehovah, in the foundation of the Kingdom, just as man was obliged to carry out the will of God in gaining admission to the kingdom. The usual picture of the Messiah credited him with such a function as this to express . Such interests as arose from time to time in

the minds of religious people were registered in additional duties which the Messiah was expected to perform. Thus fear of the demons who were responsible for all of man's ills made the Messiah the agent for redemption from them; he also was the one who would secure redemption for man from his sins through the final victory of righteousness.[35]

The composite Jewish picture of apocalyptic salvation, as seen above, was further enriched by an appeal to the law. By careful observance of its regulations the benefits of the Messiah's work were assured. Yet to Paul and his Christian associates the burden of the law had become well nigh beyond endurance. Therefore his great need made the Christ a savior from the law. But among the great majority of Jews no such conclusion was reached because the law was one of the means by which man might make himself ready for the sudden salvation of the Lord. It was believed that faithful observance of the law by all Israel for two Sabbaths would so prepare human hearts for the manifestation of the kingdom that the consummation of the ages would be achieved.[36] So confident was Judaism in the efficacy of the law that greatly elaborated modifications were expounded by the rabbis in the belief that the law as the will of God should be more zealously guarded. The life of the people was bound down by countless requirements which had no better foundation than casuistry. But in spite of all the meticulous demands of the priesthood we see no indication that there was any other thought entertained than that the law was the best means by which the process of salvation might be furthered previous to the coming of the Messiah.[37]

All these elements of the Jewish soteriology are on a priori grounds compatible with the earliest Christian message as far as we are able to recover it. There certainly was a consistent belief that the Messiah would soon come unexpectedly and bring to an end this present world order. This was fairly prominent in the mind of Paul.[38] The synoptic gospels also give considerable prominence to this expectation. In most cases there is silence on the point that keeping the law would in any way affect the coming of the kingdom. Matthew, it is true, makes Jesus say that the law should remain absolutely unchanged until all things were accomplished.[39] But contemporaneous with Paul there were many legalistic Christians who insisted that all should obey the

law; and Paul's greatest conflict was on this issue. This would point back to an earlier time when the law in all probability was at least as fully recognized in the preaching of most Christians as it was among the Judaizers. The Matthean account of the Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus seems to repudiate the law can not be construed as having the sharpness of Paul's polemic against the legalism of his Jewish-Christian opponents. Even the cutting statements about eating with unwashed hands are only protests against hollowness and superficiality, not against law as such.[40] Jesus felt himself free to criticize the literalness of the law as it was interpreted by the narrower minds of his day. That he should do so did not make him un-Jewish. His presence in the synagogue and his participation in the regular feasts of his people indicate a kindly attitude toward the keeping of the law in the proper way as he attempted to interpret it in terms of human worth.

There is thus no reason for supposing that Jesus' immediate followers set aside the law as a valuable means of assistance in securing the salvation of the kingdom. The way in which they expounded the law probably ranged all the way from its subjection to human ends, which must have been Jesus' ideal, to the harsher exaltation of the law as in some way final of itself.

If the law was kept in the early days of the Christian movement, (and there seems to be no sound reason for doubting it), there are few points left in which the message could have differed from that of other religious leaders in the same community. We have no grounds on which to postulate a difference in the kingdom idea. Even beyond the period which covers the history of the most primitive phase of Christian development, the typical ideas of the apocalyptic message were unrestrained, and they probably had been all the while. If, as some would insist, Jesus himself taught differently, his interpretations must have soon been overbalanced by a return to the characteristically Jewish imagery. However it seems improbable that Jesus, living in the midst of apocalyptic beliefs and shrinking from nationalistic and militaristic ambitions, would have had occasion to evolve such a theory of progressive evolution as that which is prevalent today.[41] But whatever was the message of Jesus himself on this point, it must be insisted that the glorious kingdom of Heaven was the general expectation of the Christian community for no short period of

time, and through it men were to be saved from the distress of the present world.[42] The affinity during this period of Christianity for Judaism and the certain presence of this belief in later Christianity, admit of no doubt on this point, though we lack quotable evidence and proof aside from Paul, the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, which, though written later than the time in question, contain traditions which grew up then.

The only change which it was necessary for the Christians to make in their beliefs concerning salvation was that the Messiah of God who was to usher in the kingdom, was not the vague, indefinite figure pictured by the apocalyptists, but one who had been among men, Jesus, now risen from the death of crucifixion, and fully recognized by God as his Chosen One. This was indeed a change; it constituted an issue among the Jews about which there was much discussion and dispute. The activity of Jesus as he quitely taught the necessity of heart righteousness had been opposed by practically all his contemporaries. None of the prominent Jews could assent very heartily to his message, even though impressed by it.[43] Moreover the majority of those same Jews were filled with bitter opposition and connived together and by suggesting to the Roman authorities that Jesus was a menace to the government, assisted in bringing an end to his career. Now to bring forward the claim that this same Jesus was none other than the Messiah who was soon to come with the kingdom, could produce only denial from those who had previously opposed Jesus. In any event, it was a hard thing for a Jew to acknowledge that the mild-mannered Jesus was the conquering Messiah.

On the other hand, those who had participated in the resurrection experiences had a perfect vindication of their faith. Had not they seen Jesus raised from the dead and possessed of a personality such as only the Messiah could have? It is true that they believed that other persons had been raised from the dead, but these had not been exalted to the right hand of God. In the case of Jesus there could be no mistake in their minds. He had been seen by many,[44] and his conduct had been such as to demonstrate his unusual position. With such a conviction as this in their hearts, it was impossible for the early members of the Christian community to acquiesce in the uncertain and incomplete theories of their Jewish comrads in religion. The definiteness of the Messiah of armies, such as the Maccabaean

revolt furnished, was made possible to those who longed for the manifestation of God's kingdom in glory. Jesus was a known individual, as contrasted with the usual apocalyptic Messiah. Thus he gradually became, as the controversy over his identification with the coming Savior grew sharper, the center of a new cult within the circle of typically Jewish religious thought. The confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi[45] marks a primitive identification of Jesus with the Messiah. The only alternatives suggested are such as might arise in a strictly Jewish circle; some said that Jesus might have been the reincarnation of some ancient prophet (or of John the Baptist), but the words of Peter indicate that the fact of Jesus' Messiahship was essential in the belief of his followers. The account, whether accepted as a record of a definite event in Jesus' experience, or more probably, as a subsequent evaluation placed upon Jesus by traditional interpretation, leaves little doubt that the one test point by which a true disciple might be determined by the early church, was his acceptance of Peter's statement. The preaching of John the Baptist was a message of the kingdom more than of the Messiah. He urged men to repentance because the kingdom was at hand.[46] The Mightier One who was to follow him was not an independent individual, but the one through whom the kingdom was to be made effective.[47] Jesus also preached the same message, saying, "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[48] One can hardly resist the conclusion that practically all the statements recorded in the Gospels which deal with the importance of Jesus' Messiahship, are the result of a heightening of judgments about him under the influence of the Christian propaganda which started when the early disciples and apostles began the process of interpretation which finally eventuated in the elaborate Christology of later centuries. Salvation was the primary interest. When Jesus began to be the person through whom this could be brought about better than through any other, his importance rapidly increased.

The preaching of the apostles about Jesus must have been at first essentially the same as the preaching of John the Baptist and Jesus, (if we except the harsher elements of John's message which seem to have been characteristic of him). Part of Peter's speech to his fellow Jews in Solomon's porch, is given as follows in Acts,[49] "Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins

may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heavens must receive until the times of restoration of all things, whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets that have been from of old.'' These words might well have been spoken by any earnest Jew of that or of preceding times, with the omission of the name of Jesus, and the possible reference to his having been received up into heaven. This differentiation was the starting point of the Christian message of salvation as distinct from that current in Judaism. From it grew up other allied distinctions and finally a complete separation. The Christians seem to have had one great plea which they made,—that Jesus was the Messiah.[50] Continual insistence on this phase of their belief tended toward emphasis on belief as a test of fellowship within the group, and consequently as an important element in the saving process. This looked forward to later Christological definition, but in the early years was only a mere statement of trust in Jesus, the Messiah, as the one who, by virtue of his God-given office, would be able on the day of judgment save those who acknowledged him, from the consequences of their sin and the punishment of God's wrath.[51] By such a statement of trust, new members were, after proper initiatory rites, admitted among the number of those whose allegiance to Jesus was a guarantee of final salvation. Variance of opinion was as likely as among the Jews. Some may have believed in a final judgment of both sinners and righteous after which the sinners were either punished eternally or annihilated. Differences of opinion about the nature and universality of the resurrection may well have been tolerated. But Christians were identified by one thing, whatever may have been their tendency to entertain divergent beliefs; and that one thing was common acknowledgment that Jesus was the Messiah and had power to save. His power was yet to be manifested. Paul's idea of a pre-existant being who emptied himself of heavenly glory was apparently not a part of the primitive message, though even Paul seemed to have attached little saving significance to the earthly life of Jesus except that through obedience he merited promotion to the office of the exalted Messiah.[52]

While these features were characteristic of primitive Chris-

tianity it must not be supposed that they faded out and were lost immediately upon the spread of the faith in non-Jewish fields. Paul, and he was by no means the first to respond to Hellenistic stimuli, retained the imagery of the apocalyptic kingdom, and designated Jesus as the Christ or Messiah. It must be acknowledged, however, that "Christ" was used more and more as a title title or name, and less as a term descriptive of the function played by thee Messiah in the redemptive scheme.

Besides Paul and his Hellenistic associates, there were those who insisted on a Jewish type of salvation. They were the Judaizers, those who sought to preserve the earlier and more typically Jewish faith. Paul's resistance to them marks the first known deviation of any consequence from the standard faith of the early period. But the fact of their existence indicates the certainty of a Messianic Christianity, which was at the same time essentially Jewish, prior to the easily recognized Christianity of the Hellenistic world. This primitive type was also perpetuated for no inconsiderable length of time. The Ebionite sects of the second century may have been the reappearance of the earlier Messianic faith. But the destruction of records of this faith, in a time when it was discredited by the Hellenistic adaptation, and the reworking of the older sources to make them express the newer conceptions, tended to reduce distinctly primitive Christian religion to little more than a memory.

There are certain evidences of a continuation of the early ideas in Jewish form. Thus the book of Revelation, however much it may reflect contact with Graeco-Roman civilization, conveys a message which is very much like that of the apocalyptic of late Jewish religion. The one characteristically Christian feature, affecting the soteriology of the book, is the identification of Jesus with the glorious figure which was soon to come out of the clouds in a demonstration of God's supreme power and authority. The Epistle of James which does not deal specifically with the salvation interest, is reminiscent of the Jewish teaching about the keeping of the law and the doing of good works, and finally refers definitely to the final judgment of the Lord.[53] The content of the epistle would not have been inharmonious in the earliest period of Christianity. Indeed it was not in conflict with the Christianity of its time, yet it does not express those elements which serve

to mark the development of the faith into a more comprehensive message of salvation.[54]

Just as the ideas about salvation which arose in the midst of Jewish national experience were perpetuated alongside newer and more necessary ideas of the Graeco-Roman world, so there was continued an even earlier kind of salvation interest. As suggested in the opening chapter of this study, the stimuli which prompted primitive man to seek salvation determined also the form which was given to his theory. Thus when man's chief interest lay in the simple but important tasks connected with the maintenance of physical life, those incidents in the course of nature which thwarted his existence were the very things, the repetition of which he sought to prevent through some action of his own or of his god whose favor might be secured in some way. His conduct in the case was determined by his taking one of two possible courses. If he conceived of power being a property of the god and mechanically available, he sought salvation by getting into contact with that power. Or if, as in the case of the Jews and early Christians, God was a person, who saved his devotee only because of a personal relationship existing between the two, then salvation was sought through conduct.

By the time of the Christian era, the cruder forms of social life had been refined through development and diversification of the methods of maintenance and perpetuation, both of the individual and of the group. Human life was apparently, though not actually, farther removed from the basic instincts and necessities which underlie all existence. Hence there was at this time no place for a pure nature religion with its technique for securing the blessings of a bountiful harvest through the aversion of drought, flood, and plagues. God was the giver of all perfect gifts, but he was not nature personified.

Salvation was not primarily from the physical manifestations of evil power as seen in flood and famine, except in the simpler forms of religious society. There demons were popularly the cause of all evil, disaster, and suffering.[55] This was a common feature in all religions of this time, and was not consistently opposed by the most intelligent religious leaders, but was accepted without question by practically all. This unchallenged theory of demonology went along with a widespread practice of healing by means of exorcism or the exercise of magical power by virtue

of the authority residing in a person or invoked in his name.

In the New Testament there is no indication that the interest in primitive racial salvation was ever placed in the forefront. There were numerous occasions when suggestions and reminiscences were employed to enrich the salvation which was sought. The healing of sickness by exorcism or other means was no doubt a more or less common practice. The increasing interest in Jesus' earthly life and the demonstration of his Messiahship from the beginning, prompted the embellishment of the story of his career by references to healings and exorcisms without number. Acts[56] relates the story of Paul's miraculous power and contrasts it with the works of strolling Jewish exorcists some of whose magical books were finally yielded up to destruction, not because the practice was objectionable in itself, but because the name and power of Jesus should only be used by chosen believers in him. It is unnecessary to mention specifically the healings, exorcisms, and resurrections attributed to Jesus, and less frequently to the apostles of the new faith. These practices and beliefs were the product of the common experiences of Jews and Gentiles. They were joined to more characteristic beliefs of the time to form cumulative evidence of the certainty of salvation from God. Putting aside the question as to whether or not Jesus prompted confidence in God's willingness to save by the performance of wonderful deeds, it is easy enough to see that in proportion as his followers interpreted his earthly life as Messianically significant, they would be inclined to attribute to him many acts of power in order to demonstrate that he had while on earth been divinely accredited as the agent of salvation. It is not possible to indicate the progress of this interpretation, but there can be little doubt that, if in the first years after Jesus' death, his followers thought of him as yet to manifest his Messianic power, there would be little reason for picturing his earthly experience so prominently in terms of miracles of healing, etc. While healing was a very commonplace feature of the time, and should be recognized as one of the phases of the salvation interest, its attachment to Jesus as Messiah and to the whole scheme of redemption, (officially recognized in both Judaism and Christianity), remains somewhat indefinite.[57]

If the conclusions regarding the kind of salvation sought by primitive Christianity, which have been brought forth, possess

any merit of exactness or suggestiveness, a characterization of it may now be offered. In as much as the earliest Christians were also Jews entertaining beliefs not radically different from orthodox Judaism aside from the identification of Jesus with the Heavenly Messiah and Savior, their conceptions of the process by which salvation would be brought about was essentially that of their closest kin among the Jews. Since Jesus had died without setting up an earthly kingdom, it was of course impossible for his followers to advocate what has been designated the nationalistic type of salvation. There remained for them but one alternative, —apocalyptic salvation.

What has been said about the Jewish quests may also be said about that quest in which these Christians were engaged. It was one in which the outcome was determined by the personal relations sustained by the members of the society to their God and his special representative, the Messiah, but particularly to God. There was present no theory of nature or essence such as may be seen in the characteristic Graeco-Roman religions. One could not appropriate God-stuff as in the mysteries, nor was his salvation guaranteed by his possession by nature of an irreducible minimum of divinity in his soul, the cultivation of which would lift one above the petty things of this world and finally literally unite him with God. The Jews were not sacramentalists, at least not the typical Jews of Palestine; neither were the primitive Christians. Their ideas of salvation had much closer affinties to the motive of emperor worship and some phases of Mithraism in which the cult member is represented as being benefited by the personal interest of the deity. This kind of salvation possesses a sort of inherent "trinity",—a person to be saved, an objective salvation, and a person through whom this end may be accomplished. The other type of salvation process involves a blending of the objective salvation and the saving agency in an impersonal power in which the seeker after salvation may find his rest by a subjective identification.

Christianity in its earliest stage, whether interpreted from its relation to contemporary Judaism, or from the later literary evidence which continued the primitive beliefs, was a quest for salvation by means of personal relations to God. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon";[58] "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your

Father who is in Heaven give good things to them that ask him";[59] "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."[60] These are characteristic statements in the Christian message. As the Christ of Christianity was more prominent, more personalized than the Messiah of Judaism, the Christian believer stood in a very close relationship to his Savior, who had done so much to merit the allegiance of his follower. Although the Christian was really unable to effect his own salvation, for only God could do that, he might by a life of devoted service and proper conduct, gain assurance that he was already saved by anticipation. According to the strict interpretation of the Messianic scheme, no definite guarantee of salvation could be given short of the final judgment, though legalism assumed to give a certain degree of finality. The Christian identification of the risen Jesus with the Messiah furnished the same kind of assurance that Judaism offered, but the growing tendency to identify the earthly Jesus with the Messiah gave a much more definite assurance. His promises, his teaching, as well as his deeds, gave every reason for believing that the age would soon be consummated and all who would cleave to the Master, would enjoy the blessings of the kingdom of the saved.

In such a quest the primitive Christians engaged, starting from an essentially Jewish conception of salvation, and gradually acquiring elements by which they as a group were to be differentiated from all others. Their growing contact with the Hellenistic world and the increasing cleavage between Christians and Jews, tended to modify the formal side of their religion until they found themselves participating in a quest for salvation in many particluars quite different from the first in which they took part. The earlier quest was conditioned by Jewish life with its religious formalism and casuistry, and high ethical zeal, and by Roman provincialism and group particularism. The later quest was worked out in the midst of universalism syncretism, philosophy, and mysticism, such as were not prevalent in the traditional Judaism of Palestine.

CHAPTER V.

THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN QUEST IN A HELLENISTIC WORLD.

The Christian movement did not long continue in a tolerant relationship with Judaism. Much bitter feeling arose between the two groups and gradually widened the breach between them until they are later found in open and merciless opposition.[1] In the first stage of the separation which can be distinguished, the spirit of opposition seems to have been expressed by the Jews rather than by the Christians. This state of affairs is everywhere apparent in the New Testament and must have originally been occasioned largely by the prominence given to Jesus as Messiah. The Jews did not necessarily hold to beliefs which were not acceptable to Christians. Christians could easily find congenial minds among the Jews as far as Jewish religious thought was concerned, particularly among the Pharisees. But the Jews could not accept the distinguishing feature of the Christians, the Messiahship of Jesus. The Messianic kingdom was common property, but in proportion as the person of the Messiah was brought into the foreground the breach between the two parties was widened and made permanent. This eventuated in the departure of the Christian mission from the Jewish field and its entrance into the Gentile. Hence the significant term, the Gentile Mission, by which the early evangelistic enthusiasm is designated.

Christianity, as it moved out into its new field of activity, did so, not with a series of questions which it propounded to its hearers, but with an answer to the question so frequently asked: "What must I do to be saved?" The Christians believed that they had reached the end of their quest when they made the discovery that Jesus was the Messiah. And when that was done, they were content to address their Jewish associates in order to convince them of the same saving fact. If there had been no occasion to go farther into the world, their quest would indeed have been ended, and there would have been nothing left to occupy their attention except propaganda. They would have been searching for nothing except new recruits for the Kingdom of Heaven among a people who understood their message and only asked for assurance that they might be saved in the faith of their fathers.

But there were people in the audiences of the Christian missionaries who had many questions in their minds, and in addition they had convictions which grew out of their own religious experiences for which Judaism and Christianity had no adequate explanations. To those who had a keen appreciation of the meaning of personal allegiance to a ruler, the conventional answer of Jewish Christianity to questions about salvation was clear: Become a member of the group which is doing now the will of God and believe that when his good time comes, he will bring you to himself in safety, with a miraculous manifestation of his power. But to those who wished to escape from the crude flesh and its limitations and be transformed by a miraculous infusion of deity, this ready made answer gave no satisfaction. Thus by raising questions which had hitherto been unasked in Christian circles, the new members compelled the movement to retain its character as a quest.

There were other factors which tended to lead Christianity into a broader field of activity, factors which indeed marked the compatibility of Judaism and Christianity rather than the opposite. There was the nature and character of Judaism with which the new faith was so closely associated and from which it gained so much of its strength. Judaism furnished the radiating lines along which Christianity was spread as it was transmitted through the medium of the synagogue meetings. Judaism was by no means confined to Palestine. There were Jews in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Media, Asia Minor, and Rome. In all there were between four and five millions of Jews, less than one million of whom lived in Palestine.[2] The great numbers and wide distribution of Jews can hardly be explained on the basis of natural increase of population. There must have been an insistent propaganda among certain classes who were by race and social status similar to the Jews of the Dispersion, or who were attracted by the high ethics and rigid monotheism which the Scriptures set forth. It has been customary to think of the Jews as very particularistic, so much so that it was impossible for an extensive missionary enterprise to be carried out. This no doubt, was true of the narrower Palestinian faith, but there were broader and more universal tendencies at work in Judaism as a whole, looking to a less nationalistic and more cosmopolitan religion.[3] This propaganda was not accompanied, however, by a willingness

to syncretise with the various faiths which lay in its on-going path. There was a continual insistence on ethical conduct of the individual and Jehovah as the only God, whose laws must be obeyed, in view of the coming judgment. It was this which gave the Jewish people solidarity and unified interests. Even the discontinuance of sacrificial observances in the Dispersion did not destroy the sanctity of the law and the worship of God. This was merely an incident in the modification of the less essential features of the faith, a modification flanked by the two extremes of compromising tolerance and fanatical exclusiveness.[4]

In this process of modification, the worship of the synagogue played a prominent part. The Jews had certain privileges of citizenship which seemed more or less attractive to less favored ones, as for instance, in Alexandria.[5] But more significant was the sympathetic adherence of the non-Jew to the worship of the synagogue, where the asserted antiquity of the sacred Scriptures established the rightfulness of the faith. The result was that a great number of "God-fearers"[6] attended the services of the Sabbath and thereby gave the religion a certain degree of respectability in Graeco-Roman eyes. Josephus informs us that at Antioch "the Jews continued to attract a large number of the Greeks to their services, making them in a sense part of themselves."[7] What was true at Antioch was equally true in other places. Those who wished a closer affiliation with Judaism might secure it by becoming proselytes and assuming the same responsibilty to the law that a born Jew did. But this stage of membership was made somewhat unpopular by the necessity of submitting to certain initiatory rites which were more or less repulsive to the Gentile, and by the fact that limited privileges were granted to the newcomers.

One can easily imagine the effect this fact may well have had in promoting the Gentile Mission of Christianity in connection with other influences less divisive in tendency. Christianity and Judaism may have worked side by side appealing to the same people by much the same argument. After the development of friction between Jews and Christians in Palestine, there may have continued a fairly harmonious relationship in the Dispersion. In any event, whenever the God-fearer had an opportunity to listen to the messengers of the similar faiths, Christianity and Judaism, he would be attracted to the one which required of him the least

in the way of repelling rites and ceremonies and offered at the same time the fullest privileges of membership. Furthermore, the Christian mission, being somewhat elastic because of its newness, and centering its emphasis on Jesus as the Messiah instead of on the law and ceremony, could make concessions that the older faith could not yield. Thus the pagan sympathizer and admirer of the Jehovah religion probably served as one of the entering wedges between Judaism and Christianity, by virtue of the fact that he was desired as a member and supporter of each religion. As a prize of contest, he may have been the passive agent of many modifications of the primitive message of Christian faith. The God-fearer was a seeker after salvation, and Christianity no less than Judaism, was seeking to give him assurance of salvation. The apostles of the Gentile Mission did not condescend to let the pagan enquirer dictate the terms of the exchange, but the history of the early years shows that many who were not Jews believed,[8] and the success of the preaching would hardly permit the supposition that all concessions were made by those embraced Christianity. Only a conquest of the sword can maintain its message unchanged, and Christianity was not that. Its dealings with the Gentiles were on a basis acceptable to both.

On the whole Judaism furnished Christianity with a great deal of content in its early years and even during the period of its gradual separation. The preceding chapter indicates in part the message which Judaism gave to primitive Christianity. Its syncretistic tendency and its propaganda also contributed to the endowment of the new faith with a certain degree of adaptability and vitality, while on the side of more external features it was no less the cause of Christianity's success, since it had acquainted the Gentile world with the religious forms and ideas with which the Christian mission operated.[9]

There were, however other influences which offered Christianity, as a new phase of religion, an opportunity to undertake its own work separately from that of Judaism. These were the characteristically Hellenistic features of the Gentile civilization working in conjunction with the Roman political policy. Only by an almost absolute withdrawal from intercourse with the rest of the world would Christianity have been able to keep herself free from these influences, and when once she came into contact with them, they offered remarkable inducements to undertake a task less cir-

cumscribed by narrowness than that which Judaism adhered to, even when least particularistic. There may be mentioned in this connection 1) the cultural tendencies of the age as seen in the promotion of Hellenistic thought among all peoples for the purpose of cementing them together; 2) the break-down of social distinctions hitherto accepted without comment and the opportunity of self-elevation made comparatively easy for all; 3) the religious situation as seen in a tolerant attitude toward all cults, and the recognition of religious interests previously considered trivial and inconsequential, or ever despicable, by the typical influential citizen, and 4) the changing political method, which now sought to establish a world empire on the basis of a monarchy which guaranteed material prosperity and relative freedom in local organizations in exchange for absolute allegiance to the one ruler. This latter characteristic of the first Christian century, since it fostered the idea of centralized authority, had a great deal to do, on its non-political side, with the propagation of the monotheistic ideal, both within and without Christianity.[10] On the concrete side, these phases of Graeco-Roman life were really potent forces in the shaping of all movements which operated within the range of their influence. In large measure they were different from the characteristic qualities of the Jewish and primitive Christian life, and in some instances entirely opposite. Quite logically, therefore, as soon as the Chrstian movement was brought into touch with the Gentile world, through the leading of Judaism itself or because of its own inherent genius, it met forces which tended to advance it still farther in the direction of an independent mission, in which Jewish influences had diminishing prominence.

It must be borne in mind that there was a potential cleavage between the Christians and the Jews in the identification of Jesus with the coming Messiah. Emphasis was thereby shifted from the importance of the law and tradition, and in proportion as the Messiahship of Jesus was insisted upon, the adherents of the law accused the Christians of infidelity to the most sacred things of God. But this whole dispute was within the range of Jewish thought and experience. Therefore it cannot be said that the contact with the Gentile world was the primary cause of the divergence of the Christian mission from its Jewish ancestry. Antecedent to that was the difference of belief on a matter which was purely Jewish. When once the question was raised and dis-

agreement registered, further variation was stimulated by contact with the non-Jewish world, from which reinforcements were drawn in the form of greater numerical adherents and more effective thought-processes.

The course which Christianity followed in making its way from its Jewish environment out into the Gentile world cannot be followed in detail. The author of the book of Acts is very conscious of the development of the Gentile mission and the final repudiation of Judaism.[11] His selection and use of materials in the first half of the book give ample testimony to this point. His zeal in presenting this cleavage between Christianity and Judaism may well have obscured some of the actual stages by which it took place, though it is still clear that the author recognized that the gospel was first preached to the Jews and only offered to the Gentiles because of the refusal of Jews to listen to the good tidings.[12]

The first center of Christian activity was Jerusalem. The early gospel tradition referred to the appearances of the risen Jesus in Galilee,[13] but under the influence of a rival Jerusalem tradition, Luke's rendering of the reference to Galilee was altered ingeniously to permit the introduction of another account of Jesus' appearance.[14] The Lucan interest in the Jerusalem tradition is continued in the opening verses of Acts.[15] A church was there established which apparently was the center from which other churches were started in the outlying districts of Judaea,[16] and also in Galilee and Samaria,[17] at Damascus,[18] and subsequently to the West on the sea-coast.[19] While these churches were apparently started by members of the Jerusalem church who had been forced to leave because of persecution,[20] it is not clear that any rigid oversight was maintained by the mother church. In all probability the preaching was mostly confined to Jewish audiences. At an early time the Grecian Jews became quite prominent and secured a change in administration for the advantage of their own members.[21] Also Philip's successful preaching to the Ethiopian eunuch[22] would indicate an early attention to prospective proselytes. No doubt the conditions under which non-Jews were admitted to the group were at first similar to those demanded by the Jews themselves, and no severe hostility was universally expressed toward the Christians. But persecutions did come as may be seen from both Acts and Paul.[23] One is in-

clined to believe that the rupture between Christians and Jews was made likely by the admission of a considerable number of Hellenistic Jews as well as by the message which was preached.[24]

To those who listened attentively to the Christians because they were eager to hear a satisfying message of salvation, the preaching was no doubt very like that of the earliest preaching to the Jews: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand",[25] supplemented by the call to repentance as preparation for its coming,[26] and by the assertion that Jesus was the Messiah who was soon to come and set up the kingdom.[27] Apparently the only crucial question which could have arisen at this time was concerned with the problem of admitting non-Jews into the community. Stephen, a Hellenistic Jew and Christian, aroused the Jews by preaching Jesus, the Messiah, as the one who would set aside the law and the temple.[28] Philip, another of the Hellenists, did not hesitate to welcome into the fellowship of the Christians the Ethiopian eunuch,[29] and probably many others of the "God-fearers". The baptism of the Gentile Cornelius by Peter has the same significance for this early movement. This practice of admitting to full fellowship those who had not met the preliminary conditions of the law contained within it the latent force of a further development in the direction of an independent movement, of a separate quest for salvation.[30]

The second center of the Christian mission was at Antioch,[31] where the activities of the scattered disciples were centered. Prominent in the work of the Antioch church were Hellenistic leaders as a partial list indicates,[32] Barnabas, Simeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, and Saul. Their preaching was at least partly to Greeks,[33] in continuation of the practice suggested by the story of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch and of Peter and Cornelius. Later it was from Antioch that an authorized mission was made to the Gentiles.[34] The Christian movement had become so widely differentiated from Judaism that it received a distinguishing title.[35] The points of actual difference increased about this time and caused a more crucial controversy with the original movement than had previously existed. The account of the differences given in Acts 15 bear the stamp of being confused and somewhat lacking in decisiveness. Paul's statement,[36] though lacking in detail, is more illuminating. The first problem, which arose early in the career of the Christians, was, as suggested

above, one which dealt with the admission of non-Jews without the necessity of observing Mosaic requirements. It was settled in favor of the liberal side.[37] Later another discussion arose, this time at Antioch, and dealing not with the admission of members but with relations within the group between the Jewish Christians and the Grecian Christians, whose entrance into the community had been conditioned differently according to the agreement made. This problem also was settled in favor of the liberals.[38]

By this time certainly, Christian preaching was yielding some of its positions, formerly so strenuously held. It did so, not because of an independent judgment based on logical analysis, but because of the success of the venture among the Gentiles. The message of salvation must have lacked much of the formalism which it had when it left Jerusalem, and advocated more strenuously faith in Jesus as superior to any requirements of the law.[39] As a quest for salvation in which Jews and Gentiles alike might take part it threatened the very existence of the Jewish phase of the work, because of the departure into Gentile lands and the recognition of the inapplicability of the law to their needs. By the same token, there would be every reason to postulate as complementary to the negative attitude toward the law, a positive evaluation of some elements within Gentile religious experience.

The spread of the Gentile mission from this point was dominated for a considerable period by the work and personality of Paul. His missionary tours led him farther and farther from Jerusalem and Antioch, though he always had a sentimental attachment to these places. Even when he wished to go to Rome to complete the world-wide mission, he was constrained to turn aside rather reluctantly that he might carry back in person the "collection for the saints" and thus pledge anew his loyalty to the Jerusalem church.[40] A sense of responsibility did not impress itself upon his mind at once, even though he afterward interpreted his commission as dating from his conversion,[41] as also the author of Acts did.[42] Paul's first activities were in Arabia and about Damascus.[43] Gradually his sense of a mission increased until he left the field of the Jews and entered upon his wider work. His first tour was not the fruit of a fully developed consciousness of the Gentile mission. His second tour seems to have been the result of a greater missionary aim, as was his third jour-

ney also. Ephesus,[44] and other cities of that part of the Mediterranean world assumed primary importance in the Christian mission to the Gentiles, and remained prominent for many years. The churches in this section received many letters from Paul during his life time, and played no inconsiderable part in the collection and standardization of Christian literature other than Paul's.

Paul's ambition to visit the capital city of the world was the beginning of the final stage of the Gentile mission which made its chief aim that of preaching the gospel to all the world then known. The belief that the coming of Jesus and the kingdom would thus be hastened was the motive of this plan of universal evangelization. Others than Paul had this conviction.[45] As the task of carrying the gospel to the whole world was carried on and as the keenness of the apocalyptic message was lost in the midst of other world views, the universal character of the Christian preaching and the necessity of proclaiming it, were established on other grounds than the sudden coming of the kingdom.

The labors of the Apostle Paul do not mark either the beginning or the end or the process of transference by which Christianity was inducted from its exclusively Jewish environment into the Gentile world. He had not participated in the earliest years of the movement, and he was not for a number of years the most prominent exponent of Christianity. Little is known of the activities of the individual apostles, though the names of Peter, James, and John, occur somewhat frequently in the annals of the early years. Tradition kept alive for some time the names of others. But of the rather large number of those who assisted in the dissemination of Christian beliefs, we have no informing records. Paul came in on the crest of the wave, as far as the Gentile mission is concerned, and left a body of letters which gives us a better understanding of the work that he undertook than in the case of any other evangelist of his time. The presence of his writings has caused some to overestimate the reconstruction of belief which he is supposed to have effected. Without in the least depreciating Paul's significance in the development of early Christianity in the Graeco-Roman world, it may be said that he registered the tendencies of the time and of the task, rather than that he was responsible for a salvaging and reconstruction of the gospel.

It is indeed unfortunate for our fuller understanding of the period that more and better records of the transition stage between Jewish and Gentile Christianity are not available from which might be reconstructed the message of salvation by which the quest was furthered among those who turned sympathetically to the Gospel. However positive the first preachers may have been as they turned from Jerusalem to Antioch and later to Asia Minor and Italy, and however unchanged their gospel may have been, those who were drawn to them had sought elsewhere before they had heard of Jesus, and they had found partial salvation in different places. Whether they would or not, they colored the faith which they last accepted with the experiences of their previous life. On the formal side of the shift of Christianity from Palestine to the Gentile world there is no disputing the influx of pagans into the membership of the church. The problem which arises next is whether or not the unquestioned fact of contact with a new environment modified in any particular the quest for salvation which was taken up by those who became identified with the new faith either as seekers after personal salvation or as propagandists for the good of others. The only possible sources for new elements are, on the one hand, the Jewish-Christian life of the primitive Christian quest with its combination of Jewish beliefs and Christian creations, and on the other, the new world in which the movement was operating.[46]

The social situations with which the church was conditioned, were now no longer those of Palestine, but those of a different civilization. Salvation was not sought in the midst of Jewish nationalism, though the structure of the theory of salvation still contained many of the old-time elements. If there were new elements, in what way were they blended with the old heritage and in what proportion were they present?

The Jewish soteriology was as prominent in Paul as in any other evangelist in the progressive wing of the Christian church. The ultra Jewish faction did not last long, unless it be that it continued for a time in Palestine, and then was pushed eastward to Pella at the time of the war of A.D. 66-70,[47] from which region it influenced subsequent Christianity through the Ebionite heresies of the second century. But even so, this conservative group did not have any determinative influence upon the history of the church and its final success in the Roman Empire.

In the experimental work in which Christianity engaged, there could hardly have been uniformity. In fact the history of the early church bears ample testimony to variation and frequent disagreement. There were no means by which harmony could be effected except such voluntary agreements as might be set up by friendly associations. The so-called apostolic council was of this nature, yet the degree of uniformity which this secured was very limited. At best it was a decree of toleration observed by groups working by different methods and in different fields. But in as much as the Christian movement at this stage of its development embraced all those divergent groups which were trying to present their offer of salvation to an enquiring world, (not to mention the strictly Jewish party), all the various elements which go to make up the composite message must be taken into account.

To those Gentile enquirers who approached the advocates of Christianity, it is obvious that a fairly uniform answer was given, as far as the initiative of the missionaries was concerned. It embraced the idea of the kingdom of God, whose prospective members, having prepared themselves by the observance of specified conditions, awaited its full establishment through the work of Jesus the Messiah. The blessings of salvation were pictured in terms of joyful homage paid to God, entire separation from hated enemies, and an everlasting life of transcendentalized earthly and social experiences. The elements of the soteriology were presented with considerable sharpness, possessing such distinctly Jewish features that any other identification would be impossible. If modifications of this message are to be noted in the utterances of the Christians, it is to be explained by the demands of the new converts which could not be satisfied on the basis of typically Jewish-Christian beliefs.

The correspondence of Paul offers the best illustration of the answer given to enquirers whether Jewish or Gentile. No other individual who participated in the early stages of the migratory movement out into a Gentile world has left such a wealth of informing literature, and in no one does the question of salvation reach such acuteness. One may judge from his epistles what the predominating message of Christianity must have been. Some adhered more closely to the Jewish ideal, and others were not sensitive to the sharp clash which existed between the two

religious attitudes involved. But Paul attempted to bring them into a working harmony, and for this reason better reveals the characteristic side of Christian activity than any other. There is little probability that he was in any way the inventor of new principles of religious thought; indeed his application of principles may have, in many cases, followed the lead of his teachers and associates within the church, though he boldly asserts that he received his gospel, not from men, but through the revelation of Christ,[48] a statement which he supports by the account of his conversion.

In the first verses of the fifth chapter of Romans, Paul gives a succinct statement of what it means to be saved, a statement that is elaborated and supplemented by many other passages. (1) There is an assertion of a peaceful relation with God, or a kind of anticipatory justification, which is made possible through faith in Jesus Christ. (2) Hope of the final approval of God emerges from this peace and assurance. (3) But Paul returns to urge that the tribulations of this life test man and serve as a basis of this hope. (4) The love of God is shown by the death of Jesus in behalf of unrighteous mankind with which the operation of the Holy Spirit was in some way linked up. (5) Assurance of final salvation is seen in the fact that sinners who believe are justified. This is more difficult to believe than the final salvation from the wrath of God, but when once accepted removes all difficulties attending the manifestation of apocalyptic power and its attending judgment of salvation. If Paul had added here his conviction that salvation is for all who believe, he would have touched upon all the main points of this theme, in the compass of a few sentences. The points mentioned for the most part fit in with the more pictorial representations of apocalypticism in its less radical forms.

The prominence of faith in the place often given to the works of the law is not incompatible with the Judaism of the day. The demands of propaganda and of competition introduced faith as a criterion by which one gave evidence of his allegiance to this or that religion. Its importance was naturally increased more in the Dispersion than in Palestine where the problem was conservation and not expansion. However it was greatly emphasized in the Christian movement from the very beginning because of the fact that the one point of differentiation between

the two faiths, Judaism and Christianity, was one which could only be apprehended by belief. The only way by which the Messiahship of Jesus could be preached was on the basis of faith. Those who came into Christianity did so because they believed in Jesus.[49] The rivalry of cults in the Graeco-Roman world and the corresponding prominence given to faith is attested by the Fourth Gospel. Here faith, somewhat intellectualized it is true, is indispensable in the redemptive scheme.[50] But the difference between emotional faith and intellectual faith is not sufficient to break down the general opposition between faith and works.

In the field covered by faith and legal works, the great ideas of Paul's correspondence are developed. While he gave a personal stamp to his arguments and may have greatly influenced contemporary opinion, it is impossible to insist that he alone was seeking to find an adjustment of the Christian message to its new environment. The position of the opponents of Paul, unknown to us except through the medium of his letters, while differing radically from his view of the relative worth of law and faith, indicate the wide prevalence in other minds, of the questions therein involved. His own pre-conversion experience heightened the contrast greatly, and though he took a very advanced position, he did so only with great inward struggle.

The function of the law for Saul, the Jewish persecutor of the early Christians, and for all those who held to it as a means by which salvation might be secured, is easily understood in the light of its development among the Hebrew people. God was thought of as a lawgiver, a judge of offences, a ruler giving rewards for obedience, or a member of a covenant relation. In all these cases, the law was the conditioning factor in the situation. This had been the case throughout the history of the Jews. Whatever the content of salvation was from time to time,[51] the law, either ethically or mechanically interpreted, had been the guide to those who longed for the establishment of friendly relationships between God and man. The law was given from above by God. Man's part was that of meeting the requirements laid down and thereby meriting the rewards which were held out by the law. The adequacy of the law in securing salvaion for men was what Paul (and others doubtless) called in question.[52] Paul had no fault to find with the promised salvation; only with the means by which it was to be secured. All men, so Paul argues

in Romans 1-2, are in need of salvation since they are in various ways subject to sin; but there is no hope of redemption, in as much as the law has conditions which experience has shown to be beyond man's ability to meet. Therefore, by an irrefutable argument, the law is not a blessing but a curse; because of offering conditions by which salvation is impossible of attainment, it places man under condemnation for not meeting them.[53] Further, Paul argues that God did not intend to give salvation by the law, but rather to convince man of his sin and thus make him a fit subject for the salvation which would be given through Christ and which was attainable through faith after the pattern suggested by Abraham's experience. From the very beginning, faith was the only workable plan, and the operation of the law now proved it, thus attesting its own value and quality.[54]

It is not likely that Paul elaborated his argument about the law at an early time and was thus led to abandon the Jewish faith. It is much more likely that he, as a member of the Dispersion, followed fairly familiar lines of thought, and only developed his polemic against legalism when under pressure from the Judaizers. So bitter became his opposition to the law as a means of salvation that he propounded the belief that God must redeem man from the law itself.

The steps by which Paul's position was reached are not clear and open, and it is a task of great intricacy to outline what seems most probably to have been the factors which lay behind his formulation. In the case of the conventional Jewish exposition of the divine redemptive plan, the explanation seems quite definite. By a course of conduct on the part of man, God is made willing to restore him to a position of favor, and this will be consummated on the day of final judgment. The terms of the transaction always were in God's control. He could make them as hard or as easy as he would. He could always forgive man when he so desired. The prominence which Christians gave to Jesus as Messiah had no real effect on this view, beyond the fact that the Messiah now did the forgiving, with the sanction of God.[55] This variation was due simply to the position of the exalted Jesus as God's official representative. But there was also a desire for forgiveness of sins prior to the day of judgment. In response to this we see Jesus' power of forgiveness brought into operation immediately. Acts 2:38 and Luke 24:47 are proba-

bly to be understood in this way, though they are not out of keeping with the apocalyptic scheme. Moreover there are incidents in the gospel narrative of Jesus' life which show that Jesus was while on earth able, by virtue of the authority which he possessed, to forgive sins without delay.[56]

In all this, however, there is no word of anything beyond Jesus' power to forgive sins, comparable to God's undisputed power. There is in these passages no hint that Jesus need die for the removal of human sin. But the idea of vicarious death was not unknown among Jews of that period and earlier.[57] It was based primarily on the conviction of social solidarity and the identification of the group with its authorized representative. This was a view which Paul accepted himself in reference to the death of Jesus,[58] and which was also used to explain how sin could be present in all people through the transgression of Adam.[59] The belief finds its origin in the experiences of primitive life and is continued into modern society wherever the sense of social responsibility is at all keenly felt. On this ground, one might suffer and die for the sins of his people, and such a belief was present in the primitive Christian message which Paul received: "that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures".[60] The fact of Jesus' death, a stumbling block in the early days of the Christian community, was thus brought under the sanction of a divine plan in which the cross became necessary.

When this vindication of the death of Jesus was secured there was no need of further elaboration of the vicarious element. Christians were content to see the saving significance of Jesus in the authority of his exalted Messiahship and in the vicarious death for our sins. There was no need of an elaboration of these points into a scheme other than the one taken over from the Jews. Paul, however, in view of his controversies with the Judaizers, was forced to define his position more in detail. The death of Jesus was necessary for man's salvation, because on other grounds he could not maintain the dignity and justice of his dealings with man.[61] The law made requirements, and God himself had made the law, faulty and temporary though it was. Therefore the atoning death took place, and the law which had made it necessary was then set aside, and a new one put in its place. This phase of the discussion is not for the purpose of assuring men that sins will be forgiven, but to explain the setting

aside of the law, which Paul acknowledged as of divine origin, and of divine authority for a time at least. The forgiveness of sins is still confidently based on the authority of Jesus Christ which will be shown at the proper time,[62] and salvation from the law, while very important in Paul's thought, is after all, incidental to the great salvation of the final judgment.

Besides the explanation of Jesus' death in terms of juridical relationship, as would be natural when dealing with the law, there are a number of passages in which Paul unmistakably uses the language of sacrifice.[63] The Jews of the Dispersion had lost their original feeling for the sacrificial system, but it had a great deal of symbolic value on account of their history and traditions. Paul probably puts this meaning into his imagery of the sacrifice. It is not a basic argument, but it can not be explained except as having been drawn from the institution which had such great power at an earlier time.

Starting with the faith in Jesus as Messiah, the central feature in the Christian propaganda, the problem of salvation was interpreted by the leaders in the traditional way as far as possible. It would seem that Paul and doubtless others of his type, were driven to greater reliance on faith and less reliance on law than was ordinarily the case. This was brought about, not by Hellenistic sympathies at the outset, but by the ultra-Jewish among the Christians themselves who created an opposition. This emphasis on faith as contrasted with the law, resulted in a further amplification, the abrogation of the law and man's redemption from it, by the death of Jesus who thus removed the danger from sin which the law was, by theory, supposed to dispell. While engaged in the process of evolving and defending these contra-legal beliefs, the Christians were engaged in a new and important quest. They discovered how they were to be saved from the law and its curse. Apparently no one had attempted to do so radical a thing before. Jesus, whom the Christians preached so earnestly, is not quoted as having taught so revolutionary a doctrine. He, and others, a few of whose words have come down to us in tradition, set about to give the law a new content and a new quality, but no word was spoken against it as law. Probably others who had less sentimental attachment to the peculiar traditions of the faith, gave up the law far easier than did Paul. But even in that case, they were engaged in a similar quest. Their

objectives were more easily attained, though perhaps less passionately held.

The traditional features of the apocalyptic hope are to be found everywhere in the records of this period. The beliefs incorporated in this exposition of God's dealings with man do not properly constitute a quest for salvation. They had been long held in a fairly unchanged form. They were doctrines, dogmas of Jewish faith. To perhaps a considerable number of non-Jewish converts, apocalypticism held out a measure of hope which could not be otherwise obtained. The theory, it must be remembered, grew up in a period of national depression. The institutions of the people had so impressed themselves upon their life that their pictures of the future followed the lines suggested. To those of the Graeco-Roman world who had suffered because of the disorganization of the social order but who still retained a love for the forms which it ideally possessed, the promise of a new kingdom in the future heaven in which there could be nothing imperfect offered a satisfying salvation. While the Jews, more than any others, held stubbornly to their national institutions, the ideals of social organization were not absent from Graeco-Roman life; and though impossible of establishment in this world, were fondly held in hope for the future. The continuance of apocalypticism in the church amply justifies this conclusion.

Local and temporary disturbances of the peace of Christians even in Paul's day were sufficient to keep alive the expectation of the sudden coming of the Lord. The Jews longed particularly for a kingdom; the Christians for the Lord, the head of the kingdom. Paul believed that the coming of the Lord was at hand as did most, if not all, of his fellow-Christians. He did not profess to know the exact hour of his appearance.[64] The same idea is presented in the gospels, and certainly was widely held by Christians, as the corresponding belief was held by Jews, and by some Graeco-Romans also. Paul finally became convinced that the great day could not or would not come until the "falling away" had taken place. The arch-enemy of God's work was yet to make one supreme effort to overcome the forces of good. But the Messiah in battle array would descend and by his heavenly power overcome all resistance. Then the saints who had died would be summoned to his side and the living transformed into heavenly

beings. Paul does not deal with the reign of Christ on earth, the resurrection of the evil, and their final annihilation or eternal torture, in the explicit way followed by the traditional Jewish apocalypticists. But he does picture a final judgment at which the vindication of the righteous will be made complete and the eternal kingdom of blessedness will be inaugurated.[65] The omissions which are to be noted in his statements about the apocalyptic events do not indicate any noteworthy variation from the ideas he had inherited. Similar lacunae are to be noted in some of the conventional Jewish Messianic programs. While holding tenaciously to the final judgment and all the God-directed events of that time, he seems to have lost interest in some phases of it for one reason or another. It is not that he substituted a Hellenistic belief in the place of one of Jewish origin, but it may very well be that Christian adaptations of Hellenistic interests or purely Christian creations may have lessened the stress put upon certain points of the apocalyptic scheme, which as a whole he was not conscious of abandoning.

The same characterization of these elements of the Pauline soteriology may be given as in the case of the Jewish faith. In the case of Paul they may have been somewhat more formal than in Judaism during the years of bitter persecution and struggle. Yet Paul, as a non-Palestinian, was a Jew of the Jews and placed a high estimate on national solidarity,[66] and retained part of his heritage tenaciously, in spite of his rejection of legalism and ceremonialism. Except for setting aside the law and its formal requirements, and the substitution of faith, there is no reason to suppose that he altered to any considerable degree the whole apocalyptic scheme. But as already suggested, this was less a quest for salvation than a stereotyped theory growing out of the experiences of the Jews, in which the hope of salvation was shifted from an earlier confidence in the final righting of this world's wrongs by God's assistance, to an expectation of God's miraculous intervention and the setting up of a new world order.

In accepting the conclusion that Paul retained his Jewish thought about the way in which man was to be saved, one is not barred from asserting that he appropriated non-Jewish beliefs not as substitutions but as supplements. And, in point of fact, it is here that he pursued his real quest, for he stood on new ground and in the midst of new requirements. The kind of sal-

vation which Paul, as a Jew, expected was based on conduct, personal relations toward God, doing his will, etc. It was constructed on the foundation of social institutions, which alone served as the means of control. The will and power of the ruler which alone could solve the difficulties of that age, were transcendentalized and made the basis of assurance that God the great ruler of the universe, would finally solve all difficulties and give his subjects salvation.

But in the Graeco-Roman world, the category of personal relations did not dominate the methods by which salvation was sought. It is true that the emperor cult was based on the relationship sustained toward the ruler, and on its religious side, offered a limited parallel to the Jewish type of thought. In a measure, the same may be said with regard to certain phases of Mithra worship. Its apocalyptic interest, its expectation of a coming Savior, its imagery of conflict between two opposing armies, are very much like the Jewish and early Christian representations, and indeed may have been somewhat influential in the formation of the Jewish apocalyptic. This thought, however, was not characteristic of Graeco-Roman life and times as expressed in their religious thought. The continual state of flux in social institutions from the time of Alexander the Great until after the time of Augustus, formed no basis for the establishment of a theodicy such as was possible under the earlier national organizations. The gloom and depression of the age stimulated a search to discover the source of evil and of good in qualities inhering in the substance and nature of men and beings. This method was adopted by quite divergent groups. The mystery cults rested upon such a foundation, but no less so the ontological philosophies of the day. All the variant forms of cults and philosophies were earnestly seeking to find salvation for man by changing in some way his "essence". There was present, it must be admitted, a considerable consciousness of the necessity of doing the will of God or Gods in order to gain favor in their sight. This was carried over from the mythologies of early times, and probably registered social situations to a degree comparable to that actually existing among the people. While this point of view was particularly characteristic of the Graeco-Roman society during the period which concerns us here, it registered itself slightly, at least, among the Jews themselves.[67] Thus in Hebrew literature,

spirit is conceived of as personalized, and therefore responsive to relationships with man, and also as substance, and as such having a magic effect upon whatever it touches.[68] The latter view was sublimated under pressure exerted by the highly specialized social structure existing among the Jews. But with the Greeks particularly, there was no unified system of control, and as a result of the attending pessimism, men turned individually to a solution of their problems in terms of magical control variously expressed.[69]

There are in Paul, and other Christian writers of approximately the some period, statements that can not be related to the typical Jewish thought, but which are entirely in accord with the Graeco-Roman. It is possible that the source is really the occasional and half-hidden Jewish statement which deals with substance-power, but it is far more likely that the Jews of the Dispersion caught the idea from their environment rather than from their own sacred literature which was so largely given over to a different point of view. In so far as these beliefs had great meaning to the Christians, it is probable that they were secured from their associates to whom also they had great meaning, rather than from the literary remains of the Jews among whom the ideas were incidental and not characteristic.

The Christian utterances to which allusion has been made, deal with a very important part of the Christian theory of salvation. They concern themselves with the problem of salvation as it presented itself to them in the Graeco-Roman world. Everywhere the Hellenists were concerned with their evil nature and the necessity of changing it in order to be saved. Some said that the trusting initiate could be merged with Dionysus, Osiris, or some other divine being and thus made into a new creature, a very god himself. Others scorned such crude thoughts, and expounded a theory of divine essence in every human soul which fanned into a flame by man's good conduct, would transform him into pure deity. Christians did not ignore this demand. Believing as they did that their religion was able to satisfy all demands and to redeem all men, they sought to explain how their questioners could be saved as Christians, even better than by the other religions. There are not a few expressions in New Testament literature which seem to have no affinities with any type of first century thought except that of the characteristic

Graeco-Roman life, as far as its soteriological aspects are concerned.

On the more formal side there are passages which at once suggest a relation between the thought involved and some of the recognized expressions of Christianity's new environment. Most noticeable of all, perhaps, is the not uncommon use of the word mystery (*μυστήριον*), which may be read with no queries by the modern man acquainted with its present broadened use. In most cases the mystery of the ancient world was a quite specific thing. It referred to the numerous cults which prevailed all through the civilization of that time. These cults professed to hold in their control the means of availing oneself of the potency of the deity. In the conflict of groups, the secret of the technique by which the god was brought into human experience, became a treasure to be guarded zealously. This was itself a revelation from on high and not in any sense a man made scheme, as one may see amply illustrated in the eleventh book of the Metamorphoses of Apuleius. Similarly Christianity possessed a revealed power which had not previously been known, for Paul refers to the gospel as if he thought it was "the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but now is manifested".[70] Paul thought of himself and his fellow- ministers as "stewards of the mysteries of God".[71] There are other references to mystery or mysteries which further strengthen the likelihood that an attempt was being made to make Christianity as appealing as were the popular cults of Graeco-Roman life.[72] This could only be done by the new faith through answers to the common questions of the time. While the mere use of the word "mystery" seems to have no adequate explanation aside from an allusion to the religious life of the Hellenistic world, it is in the field of soteriology that the greatest suggestiveness is to be seen.

Frequent allusion has been made in this discussion to the kind of salvation which the typical Hellenist sought and the means by which he attempted to secure it. Mystery and philosophy alike promised men redemption from the evil nature which enthralled them, through the action of divine essence or being of which the individual availed himself. Man was what he was, not because of his own action, but because of something that had happened at the beginning of time or at creation, and had con-

taminated all mankind. Sin or evil was not in a man's heart, but in the phylon of the race. Salvation meant the renovating of man's whole being by the magical transforming power of an uncontaminated divine being with which man became in some way identified. Apart from the conscious or unconscious use of the word "mystery", did the early Christian preachers to the Gentiles make use of this teaching about salvation?

The first thing to be considered is the estimate placed upon man's nature and his ability to promote his own redemption. In the Jewish religion the chief concern was to know God's will and then to do it. In the apocalyptic scheme to which most Christians adhered, man's part was not as great as that of God, but at the same time no great stress was placed upon his inherent helplessness. Problems of original sin and a corrupt nature were negligible as compared with the greater concern of doing the will of God as a prerequisite to the coming of the kingdom. But in Paul there is to be seen the introduction of the Greek interest. Man possesses an evil nature which prevents him from doing God's will. This decision of Paul gives point to his denial of the law.

In the Roman letter, particularly chapters six, seven, and eight, sin is frequently referred to as the outcropping of an evil nature which is hostile to the good nature which results from the indwelling of Christ. "The mind of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be."[73] "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the things that ye would."[74] Whether these chapters be taken as autobiographical or not, they can only be understood as implying a practical dualism in human nature. Sin was a force working in human experience to bring man low.[75] Sin was not limited in its operation to any part of the human race; it was universal.[76] This point of view, so explicitly stated by Paul, can not be paralleled in typical Jewish thought. Even the passage quoted by Paul himself to show the universality of sin, does not reflect the idea of sinful nature as he describes it:

> "There is none righteous, no not one;
> There is none that understandeth,
> There is none that seeketh after God;
> They have all turned aside, they are together become unprofitable;
> There is none that doeth good, no not so much as one."[77]

It is clearly said here that all men have turned from God, as if by their own will they had decided to seek their own ways of sin. But Paul introduces a new element. He saw in man's nature a compulsion to do wrong which was not dependent upon man's will to do wrong. In fact the very opposite is the case. "For I know that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but to do that which is good is not. For the good which I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I practice. But if what I would not, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me."[78] Tangible sins and evil are simply expressions of the inner quality of man's evil nature, in other words, of his flesh; while good deeds are the expression of the Spirit which is within him.[79]

Such an interpretation of Paul's statements about the flesh is unwelcome to many on the ground that he has often used the term in other senses less derogatory. It is true that Paul uses σάρξ in various ways, and often in a good or indifferent sense.[80] But just as the conception of flesh as evil can not be extended to all his references, neither can the good meaning be applied in all cases. There is no mistaking the judgment placed upon the flesh when the question of its nature is once raised.[81] It is of such a character that redemption from it is not possible apart from the coming in of a new and more powerful force. "Wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then I of myself with the mind, indeed, serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin. There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death."[82]

An understanding of Paul's view necessitates the introduction of another of his favorite ideas, and one which is generally associated with the life in the Spirit. To what extent Paul's conversion experience influenced his position, it is difficult to say. Jesus had appeared to Paul as a spiritual being, the object of a special revelation. The earthly life of Jesus was known to Paul, though he does not seem to have stressed it greatly.[83] But Jesus' resurrection and attainment to eternal life was possible only on the basis of a righteous, sinless life,[84] for otherwise he would have suffered the usual fate of men. The only explanation

of this was the possession of something which others did not possess.[85] By virtue of this endowment he was able to overcome the temptations to which man is subjected and to be exalted to the station of honor which he previously had enjoyed, after passing through the gate of death and resurrection.[86]

We have seen that the Messiah was closely related to the whole Jewish picture of apocalyptic salvation. His coming meant the final establishment of God's will among men. By many Christians the difficulties of reconciling Jesus' death with his Messiahship must have been ignored, while with others it had its justification on the basis of its being necessary for his exaltation. Similarly his life was an anticipatory manifestation of his Messianic power. But for Paul, and no doubt for a considerable number of Christians who followed his interpretation, Jesus had a significance not to be attached to the conventional Messianic functions. Paul's conversion experience, or at least its later interpretations, made Jesus at once available for the saving of men. Apparently the power which made the resurrection of Jesus possible was more than the power and authority of God, or better, God raised him because he possessed some heavenly quality.[87] The Jews thought of men being raised because of the faithful keeping of the law,—doing the will of God. But for Paul the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, as "the first-fruits of them that are asleep",[88] was of supreme importance in assuring believers of the certainty of their resurrection.[89] He went further; the spiritual life which Jesus possessed, not only made his own and his followers' resurrection possible, but it also so permeated their lives as to transform them and make them holy men in this life. It was through the presence of the Spirit that the quality and power of the "flesh" in which evil resided was counteracted.

As a Jew, Paul had considerable background for his conception of the Spirit. It was thought of partly in materialistic terms. It was something which would rest upon one or which could be poured out upon one, though it was sometimes personalized. But on the whole, the Spirit was not greatly stressed by traditional Jewish thought. It marked the ecstatic outburst of the prophet, or consecrated the agent of Jehovah in the establishment of the kingdom.[90] The particular phase of the activity of the Spirit which is developed by Paul deals with the permanence and quick-

ening power with which it operates in one's life. The presence of the Spirit puts an end to the life of evil and darkness which the man of flesh lived. "But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."[91] "If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk."[92] It has often been observed that Paul does not distinguish between his use of Spirit, Spirit of God, and Spirit of Christ.[93] And furthermore he identifies the Lord and the Spirit,[94] thus making clear his conviction that the potent factor in the reclaiming of men was the introduction of spirit-force into them. It was this which had turned him from his persecutions to the support of the Christian movement,[95] and had given him new life "in Christ".[96] On the side of historical identity, Paul would probably have made careful distinctions, but on the side of mystical experience he emphasized the transforming power of the new force within one by connecting it with God, God's Spirit, or his Son. The significant thing is that the new life which one lived "in Christ" was divinely validated. One was made a new man, having put aside the old man. "Wherefore if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold they are become new."[97] The new man was not adjudged so because he had a new determination to do what God would have him do, but because he was mystically united with deity. "For ye died and your life is hid with Christ in God."[98]

The nature of the spiritual life is to a certain extent explained by Paul's view of the resurrection. The Christian in this life enjoys many of the benefits of the better life which is to come. The life of the resurrection is the continuation of the present spiritual life and the farther removal from the things that are evil. Man's hope lies in the fact that after the death of this earthly body, the eternal spiritual life, already begun, will continue. Perfect salvation is not possible until then.[99] The new body of the resurrection will not be a fleshly body, but spiritual, not corruptible but incorruptible,[100] for "flesh and blood can not inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption". Conceptions such as this are not unheard of in Jewish literature, although the usual association of the future life within a kingdom tended to retain the cruder elements of the earthly hopes. The Apocalypse of Baruch,[101] approximates the

views of Paul as to the resurrection body. The dualism between "flesh and spirit" is, however, characteristic of Hellenistic thought, for the body and its limitations were the burden of men in their attempt to free themselves and escape to an untrammelled life.

The life of the flesh and the life of the Spirit become clear when viewed in the light of the redemptive process. Freedom from the entanglements associated with flesh was found in the life in Christ. By its magic touch the old nature, the old man, was transformed into the likeness of Christ.[102] One power counteracted another and the victory of one or the other made man live or die. This idea was not native to Jewish thought, where, as we have seen, all men were exhorted to do the will of God and thus win his favor and salvation. However it is entirely consonant with the Hellenistic thought of salvation which had as its basic principle the transformation of evil or impure nature by one of opposite character and the merging of the two in the process. Paul did not necessarily appropriate all the elements of Graeco-Roman thought in the subject when he adopted the belief in mystical union. He did not concern himself with the philosophic discussions about materiality, or the order and source of creation. The Greeks entered into endless discussions and took widely different and inconsistent positions. It was not more necessary for the Hellenistic philosopher to affirm an impure source for the flesh than for Paul.[103] Paul however was not essentially a philosopher. For this reason he did not take up many of the fundamental questions with which less practical but more exacting thinkers concerned themselves in his day. He dealt with a practical dualism with which he was continually coming into contact in the propagation of the Gospel among the Graeco-Romans. Whatever may have been the state of affairs in the philosophic discussions about the ultimate source of evil and the connection between it and the flesh, there was in the mystery religion an unquestioned raising of a certain phase of the problem. A solution was reached in a way not greatly different from that followed by Paul and his associates, namely, the merging of the believer in the God or as Paul says, in Christ, or in the Spirit. This union was not a transient experience like that advocated by some mystics. This was no doubt due to the incorporation of ethical qualities as an indication of the presence of the Spirit. "The works

of the flesh'' and ''the fruit of the Spirit'' were not temporal qualities but an abiding character.[104] Neo-Platonism taught a spiritual union with God which was unattested by any thing permanent. It was supersensuous, and occasional. Paul seems to have had such an experience in that he was caught up into heaven, but he did not set great store by this.[105]

Before considering farther Paul's estimate of the life in Christ and its apparent conformity to the type of salvation which was characteristic of Hellenistic religious thought, it will be well to determine what were the chief methods by which the end could be secured. By so doing the interpretation of his ideas may be made clearer.[106]

Most prominent was faith. In the primitive Christian community faith meant little more than an identification of the risen Jesus with the apocalyptic Messiah and confidence in his coming redemptive work in the establishment of the heavenly kingdom. To Paul, faith in Christ meant all that it had meant to the early church, and more. Through the exercise of faith, the divine potency which was in Jesus Christ became available.[107] By believing on him, man might be transported into that kind of life which was only possible for those who were no longer natural men.[108]

It is in this connection that Paul's universalism gains its convincing character. Paul might have argued for it on the basis of monotheism as suggested by Romans 3:29, 30, but he seems not to have placed great stress upon this side of the question. The favor of God, from the standpoint of the law, was logically restricted to those who had had the law given to them. But faith had no national limitations.[109] All men might avail themselves of the Spirit by becoming believing sons of God.

Of considerable prominence also were the rites adopted by the Christians to increase the certainty of their salvation. It is an easy thing to look upon these ceremonies as purely symbolic acts intended to keep alive the memory of those sacred events which marked the entrance of God's saving interference in human affairs. But it is highly probable that the early Christians were far more literalistic than such an interpretation would imply. Among the Jews, washings and feasts were viewed as requirements of God set forth in his law. Symbolism may have been present to some degree, reaching its height in the distorted alle-

gorism of the Dispersion. Among the Palestinians legalism was predominant. The first Christians doubtless carried over some of the ceremonies just as they carried over the law. But to a "lawless" people like the Greeks, such a conception was valueless. The rites which they observed were not connected so much with the will of the deity as with the sacramentalism with which their thought was filled. The immediate question arises as to the view adopted by such Christians as Paul.

The Jews themselves were accustomed to ideas of power or virtue residing in bodies and transmissible by contact. Their tabu laws were based on such a conception. Sin and disease were due to the presence of demonic powers, escape from which was only possible through the entrance of a better and stronger power. But even such ideas were subsidiary to the real heart of Jewish religion, fellowship with God. In answer to the question suggested above, it may be said that Paul may have found present in Judaism all the necessary elements for his ideas about baptism as an initiatory rite and the supper as an act of fellowship. But the further and more important question remains: did he find in Judaism or in the strictly Christian circle, sufficient stimulus to prompt him to develop his heritage to the extent that he did, or did he find it in his Graeco-Roman environment?

Paul does not speak of baptism as a commandment but he does speak of it in terms of cleansing and purification. It was a quickening experience, in which by ritual imitation the believer was identified with the god and his experience of salvation.[110] The old man, one of sin, was made new by his assimilation to deity. Christ, though not formally equated with the Savior Gods of the mysteries, was nevertheless comparable from the standpoint of function. Likewise the rite of baptism, though related on its formal side to Jewish baptism, on its functional side seems more like the Graeco-Roman ceremonies. Certainly at a later time, the Hellenistic conception prevailed. It did so because Christianity was operating in a non-Jewish world, the members of which brought in demands for a qualitative salvation mediated by contact of substances. The Christianity of Paul's day was beginning even then to move out into this world, and apparently was seeking to interpret the message of the Gospel in a way intelligible to its hearers.

A similar history for the supper is probable. The psychology

of primitive religions has familiarized us with the idea of man actually partaking of the god and thus incorporating his divinity. A renovated life was in this way made possible. The thought is indeed crude, but the likelihood of its presence cannot be easily dismissed on that ground, for it must be remembered that even today the dogma of transubstantiation is a vital belief in the religious thought of many who are on a higher intellectual plane than the typical Christian of the first century. The crudity of the belief in that day probably varied as it does today. The quality of deity presented in the feast was in some cases "spiritualized", but so long as its efficacy was conditioned by the participant's appropriation and assimilation of divine substance, it is genetically related to the crudest idea of the transfer of deity through a feast.

That Paul thought of the Supper as a memorial meal is beyond denial, as one may see in I Cor. 11:26: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come". Commemorative meals were familiar to the Gentile world at least, and the Corinthians to whom Paul wrote concerning the proper observance of the meal, would not have mistaken his reference.[111] But the presence of this interpretation does not exhaust the meaning of the rite. Paul speaks of the Supper as a communion, a partaking of Christ.[112] He is even aware of its similarity to the meals of the Gentiles.[113] It would seem as if the Corinthian Christians were partaking of the Lord's Supper as well as the sacramental meals of other deities[114] on the theory that by so doing, they would be able to appropriate a greater amount of divine substance and potency, a practice entirely compatible with the Gentile attitude toward the different cults. Paul insists that the difference between the Gentile and Christian meals rests on the difference between the deities themselves. He acquiesces in the Gentile theory of the meal itself. So far as it can be seen from the data there was no noteworthy difference between the two meals and the results expected from each. This is implied in Paul's statement that some were weak and sickly and not a few sleep, because of faulty participation in the Christian Supper. An opposite effect would have taken place, had the Christians rightly eaten of the meal.

Other methods of obtaining the presence of the Spirit were practiced in the Christian church, such as fasting and prayer,

laying on of hands, etc., but these were available for special endowments rather than for the life that was "hid in Christ", in which every believer might share. They did not receive the prominence that faith, baptism, and the Supper did, for what reason it would be difficult to say. One is tempted to conclude that these three items were, in the estimation of the leaders of the early church among the Gentiles, the only ones which were capable of interpreting the message of Christianity to the Hellenistic world in such a way as to make clear its ability to save men, not temporarily but permanently and absolutely, from the evil quality of the surroundings in which they lived, by the infusion of a new, divine essence.

The prominence which Paul has received in this study is not a recognition of him as the sole molder of religious thought during the second stage of Christianity's development. Others, as Peter, Apollos, and many whose activities are unrecorded, doubtless exerted great influence at this same time. In spite of the traditional hostility of Paul to Peter, it is probable that they worked together with a fair degree of understanding and with the same general viewpoint. It is purely an accident of history that an account of Paul's work has been preserved for us in a fairly complete form. His epistles, as they have been interpreted here, are not isolated records, but register the efforts of the Christian church to further the quest for salvation among those to whom the original message was not familiar. The task was not simply that of convincing men that the statements about Jesus and his helpfulness were true, but was far more complex. It would be more accurate to say that the task was that of answering the question "What must I do to be saved?" in such a way as to be intelligible to all enquirers. The effect of suggestion from Hellenistic sources will be made more clear if it is remembered that Christianity did not so much make unsolicited assertions as answer questions. This was manifestly what Paul was continually doing and the effect on his message has already been noted.

It is obvious that Paul, and, if we may deduce from his experience, the advancing preachers of his time, carried with them most of the Jewish heritage regarding the way by which one might be saved. That is, they retained the vital beliefs of the truly religious and uncompromising Jewish ethical and apocalyptic teaching of the age. There were some who clung to the law,

the distinguishing mark of a narrow faith. But they are not known to have had achieved any great success. The preachers who seem to have had the greatest success were not hampered by this hindering zeal for the law. Paul, at least, laid great stress upon faith, and by so doing he opened at once a door of entrance into Gentile life, first, because he preached a universal message, and, second, because he made central a condition which they understood and could very well accept. The ceremonial requirements of the law, at best only temporal and unsatisfactory, were dropped as of no great consequence. The value of the Jewish phases of the message was not inconsiderable in that they fortified the feeling of assurance of a final salvation. Nationalism meant nothing in the new environment; legalism meant nothing. But the promise of God's favorable verdict must have buoyed up the sinking hopes of many who were in despair.

But, on the other hand, there were many who had other wants than those which could be satisfied by the Jewish promise. The assurance of future salvation was nothing apart from the actual transformation of one's being now. It was not a matter of doing the will of God and hearing the voice of acquittal. However reassuring such a message may have been to some, it did not touch the great problem of Gentile life; and no Christian propaganda could have succeeded while ignoring this problem. It was in response to the Hellenistic enquiry about the transforming of man's impure, or at least, incomplete nature, that the Christian teaching received its greatest development. If the evidence has been accurately weighed, the Gospel was made to promise just such a cleansing change through contact with pure divinity as the Gentiles longed for.

The objection has been raised that this involves the introduction of an element which is incongruous with the genius of early Christianity. It is quite true that it is impossible to harmonize the category of personal relations, which is typical of Jewish and early Christian soteriology, with the theory of manipulation of forces for the transformation of substances, prevalent among the Hellenists. But they do not need to be adjusted to one another. To all appearances, the Christian quest for salvation, at this stage, was content to make its way, giving place to both points of view. To those who asked for such assurance as Jewish faith could give, the teaching of God's will, his king-

dom, and his judgment were sufficient. To those who were oppressed by the flesh and its shortcomings the life in Christ was the only possible message. The two points of view did not call for an adjustment to each other, for they were not actually in conflict. The two answers were perhaps mutually exclusive, but each answered its own question, and this was the test of its worth. One is inclined to believe, however, that as Christianity went more and more to the Gentiles and forsook the paths of Judaism, it gave greater stress to the point of view most consonant with the Hellenistic thought.

The question of sources is only indirectly involved. It is probably true that for every trace of a belief in salvation from the power of the earthly, fleshly life, to a life of the spirit, made possible by the merging of the believer with the divine substance, there may be discovered analogous but undeveloped, conceptions in Jewish literature. Thus on the formal side the Christian missionaries to the Gentiles may conceivably have been quite independent as to sources, from the typical Hellenistic belief. But the more important question remains as to the reason why these ideas, treated as negligible by the Jews, should be so prominent in Gentile Christianity. The only possible answer is that the expanding mission was rapidly becoming established in a society which thought chiefly in terms of dualism, and not in terms of ethical relationship to deity. In this way the influence of Graeco-Roman religion on Christianity was very marked. In fact, it can hardly be supposed that the preaching of the Jewish kingdom of God could have had the effect among the Gentiles that the Gentile message of spiritual deliverance had. Men were not enquiring as earnestly about corporate salvation in a kingdom as about individual salvation apart from the body and its inherent weakness.

In so far as the two types of belief were carried along by Christianity, they were not closely articulated with each other. Their real connection was with the demands which were being made by seekers after salvation. The Christian preachers made their contribution at this point. As we have seen in the case of Paul, and his predecessors, the new facts gathered together by Christian experience were related first to the Jewish heritage and then to the Hellenistic point of view. The exigencies of each social complex had built up different approaches to the problem

of salvation out of the attitudes and queries of their respective interests: in the case of Judaism, salvation by personal relations within a group toward a ruler-god; in the case of the Gentiles, salvation by means of individual incorporation within the pure being of deity, wherein none of the limitations of physical life were present. Christianity in the period of its first independent activity among the Gentiles, carried over much of its Jewish soteriology, but also developed a technique of salvation like that which the Hellenists were using and which alone they could understand. Otherwise Christianity would have been helpless to carry out the mission which it had undertaken. The combined message which resulted supplemented the work supposed to be done under each of the component elements: the future salvation of the Jewish hope was realized in anticipation by the actual attainment of a partial or anticipatory salvation in this life, which was only to reach its culmination at the judgment; while the present salvation of the Gentiles was made ethically vital by the introduction of tests and requirements of conduct, for which the Graeco-Romans seem to have made no adequate provision, though they were not lacking in moral sensitiveness. The resulting combination, though perhaps inwardly and formally inconsistent, was outwardly and actually quite effective in satisfying many who had long been engaged in a fruitless quest for salvation.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSFORMED QUEST OF HELLENISTIC CHRISTIANITY.

In the period which is later than that which may properly be called New Testament times, the propaganda of the Christian movement continued to adjust itself to the new forces which came into the range of its activities. The adjustments which were made at that time belong to this study as far as their characteristics are concerned. They will be excluded, however, except for a short sketch which will suggest some of the problems which arose in the path of Christianity's advance. It is hoped that the transformation of the movement under pressure of Hellenistic and strictly non-Jewish interests will be apparent even in as short a survey as is here given.

The development of the early church was not circumscribed by fear of independent judgment, even though there was always present a reverent respect for the traditions of the fathers. We have already seen how certain adaptations were made in the Christian message as it made its way from the narrow environment of Palestine into the freer competition of Graeco-Roman life. The variations of the Christian preaching were always conditioned by the demands placed upon it by those who listened and later accepted. The keen anxiety of some of the Palestinian Jews for the appearance of the kingdom, prompted them to look for some guarantee of its coming. They first saw in Jesus' resurrection the prophecy of their salvation; later his deeds in the flesh, his ancestry, his natal credentials, and finally his divine, pre-existent nature, destroyed all doubt as to the salvation that he was to bring to man. These interpretations were not formally forced upon the world; they were vitally connected with the hopes and aspirations that were kindled in human hearts by the varied experiences through which men were passing.

When the Christian mission fared forth into the Gentile world, it was obliged to adopt what may be called the colonization method. There were comparatively few laborers in the field, and resident pastors could not be left with the churches. Paul engaged in an absentee pastorate which enabled him to maintain some oversight over a number of churches. So long as congre-

gations were left largely to themselves, it was only natural that a considerable tincture of Hellenistic religious thought should be observable in their religious expressions, or that Paul should justify the claim of Christianity on the basis of values which were everywhere recognized among Gentiles.

But before the end of the first century the eager missionary propaganda was supplemented by the local work of the worshipping community. Every church planted by a travelling evangelist became a center from which radiated lines of influence. This brought Christianity into a still closer relationship with Gentile life and thought, and also gave an opportunity for the development of variant types of belief. The community and its interests became more prominent than the individual, even though he was a strong character. Apparently for some time after Paul, there were no individuals who overshadowed the community as he had done. The literature of this period is community literature. The names of apostolic leaders which were attached to the gospels and epistles, were later validations of their Christian authenticity, rather than attestations of authorship.

In the absence of commanding personalities, central organization, or any other sure means of control and uniformity, certain results are to be expected. There was less tendency toward similarity in beliefs. Also there was less inclination to conform to the standards set by former leaders, particularly those of Jewish life, though in this connection it must also be noted that a growing apologetic has a tendency to incorporate elements from the past in order to indicate the genuineness of the appeal. The Gospels show this feature; they blend, particularly the Synoptics, elements from different periods and situations. Their composite character is the very thing which made them satisfactory in communities made up of persons from widely different social and religious strata, in a large measure, a shifting population, made and unmade by the industrial and political exigencies of the time.

After the war of A. D. 66-70, there could no longer be a formal tie between Judaism and Christianity, though the real break had occurred a number of years earlier. A spirit of open hostility was engendered, due in some measure at least, to the confusion of identity to which both were subjected through the failure of Romans to make a complimentary distinction between

the rival faiths. A similar hostility arose between Christians and Gentiles. The result was that Christianity took its place in the world of religions with its own message of salvation.

This independent Christianity at an early time was known in most of the Mediterranean world.[1] A large number of the churches had been planted under the supervision of Paul. A large number also must have been the result of the activities of other evangelists, for little if any of the Christian literature from the latter part of the first century shows a close dependence on his teachings. Alexandria, which had not been visited by Paul, was nevertheless a prominent Christian center and had great influence upon the development of Christian history. Some differences between Paul's message and other Christian preaching may have been the result of failure to apprehend his real meaning, but all divergences can not be thus explained.

One of the chief interests of the age was that of exorcism and healing. Paul had not paid great attention to it, though he was a believer in demonic powers like all of his contemporaries.[2] Belief in demons as the cause of sickness and the instigators of sin was by no means confined to Christians and Jews. Even the highly educated did not deny their existence. Among the people of simpler education and position in life, religion was largely made up of what is derogatorily called superstition. While the belief is of ancient origin, it grew rapidly after the opening of the Christian era and perhaps only reached its height after the first century. The restriction of demons within the field of evil had a tendency to make prominent by contrast what was already present and vital. In the minds of Christians all demons were bad, whereas the Greeks had earlier attributed to them as a class, a neutral character.

According to the gospel tradition, part of the mission of Jesus on earth was that of successfully opposing the prince of the demons and his legions. Matthew's account of the charge of the Pharisees that Jesus cast out demons by Beelzebub, makes Jesus speak of his work thus: "How can one enter the house of the strong man, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? And then he will spoil his house."[3] Whatever may be said about the probability of Jesus having so interpreted his task in this way, it is certain that no community would have preserved this and many other statements reflecting a similar

point of view, if it had not believed profoundly in the power of Jesus to save from demons, and to overcome the prince of demons. The conviction was further expanded by saying that exorcism and healing might be effected through the power of his name.[4] Indeed so powerful and automatic was the name of Jesus, that its mere use, apart from belief, was sufficient to achieve the desired end. A saying of Jesus places some whom he did not know and whom he would repudiate at the end, among those who effectively cast out demons in his name.[5] The attack of the demon upon those strolling Jewish exorcists who used the name of Jesus, was cited by the author of Acts as an object lesson.[6] However the power of the name was undisputed.

Belief in exorcism constituted a theory of salvation from demonic powers. It continued throughout the subsequent history of the church, and is by no means unknown today among certain classes of people. From the middle of the second century, exorcism was everywhere recognized, in many instances by the appointment of officials whose duties were to perform this function for the church. Justin Martyr contended that the ability of Christians of his day to heal demoniacs was evidence of the mission of Jesus to earth. It would seem from his statement that exorcism was very prominent.[7] After the rise of schism in the church, one of the most serious charges brought against the Christian character of a sect was its reputel inability to cast out demons.[8]

Tertullian abandoned himself to a complete acceptance of demonology. He recognized that belief in demons was widespread and seems to justify his own belief by that of prominent thinkers of the past. Philosophers and poets acknowledged demons, not to mention magicians. He attempted to give a careful statement of the whole theory of demonology and of its importance in human experience, particularly in connection with Christianity.[9] Origen, also, and other Christians, (particularly Tatian),[10] interpret the function of Christianity very largely from the standpoint of the casting out of demonic powers.[11]

It is at once evident that sometime in the early period of Christian history, salvation was enriched and given greater content by the incorporation of exorcism. It is not clear why Paul has placed comparatively little emphasis on demons and their connection with human experience. It is possible that the

emphasis he gave to the life in Christ as contrasted with the life in sinful flesh left no place for such a discussion. But this does not explain why he did not oppose demonology and its associated beliefs, if he met it among the people with whom he worked.[12] That there was no belief in demons in all the cities which Paul visited can hardly be asserted, in view of the fact that the Synoptic Gospels of only a few years later were widely accepted in the same places where he had preached. That the Fourth Gospel should not give any prominence to demonology is not strange. It was concerned with a more philosophic problem, and one in which the popular belief in demons did not find a necessary place.

Salvation from demons does not belong to any one people or religion. It has enough plasticity to make it compatible with any faith adhered to by a somewhat uncritical people. While generally thought of as being characteristic of the humbler members of society, it has been accepted by many of unquestioned culture and distrust of popular superstition. Its prevalence among such widely divergent classes of people indicates its importance in their experience. Whatever may have been its therapeutic value, judged by modern scientific standards, as a staying force in religious experience it was of great value. In Christianity, it served chiefly to enrich and popularize the meaning of Christ in the life of men.

The inner secret which made this kind of salvation of great meaning to men is difficult to ascertain. It had a certain kinship with the typical religions which were based on the theory of nature and essence, for the body might be thought of as an empty house, either made holy by the presence of good spirits, or impure by the presence of demons.[13] The mental disorders which were attributed to the presence of evil spirits gave ground for a vivid picturing of an evil entity of a slightly personalized character, contaminating the mind and obstructing it in its proper function. Other diseases were dealt with in the same way, even though demons were not directly connected with the situation. It was believed that power was transferred from one person to another, but not power that was necessarily dependent upon the volitional exercise of personality. One of the clearest instances of this mechanical operation of power is to be seen in the healing of the woman with an issue of blood.[14] She was conscious that mere

contact with the clothing would heal her. And when this occurred, "straightway Jesus, perceiving in himself that the power proceeding from him had gone forth, turned him about in the crowd and said, 'Who touched my garments?'" The person of Jesus was thought of as charged with a dynamic potency which might be mechanically transmitted to another. That this incident was not isolated is attested by other passages which summarize what seems to have been customary.[15] Similarly the coming of the Holy Spirit was manifested by power.[16]

The theory of demon-possession as an explanation of various disturbances in human affairs and of exorcism as its cure appears to be due to a slight personalization of the force or power which was thought by some to be eradicable only by the introduction of a counter force. The whole system into which these elements were wrought was of a sufficiently neutral character as regards the two main types of soteriology (redemption by personal attitudes and by contact of substances) to permit its existence in the faith of any people, however much it was opposed by official religion. Its acceptance as a popular belief made it persist, in spite of occasional attempt to destroy it, at all times among all peoples. Attempts to differentiate between various phases of demon activity (such as possession more or less personalized, or demonic power conceived of as operating mechanically) are not effective in making distinctions of any great significance. The belief as a whole goes back to very primitive origins from which it has never made significant advance. It is racial, and not characteristic of any one people, though its variations are traceable to the tendencies of any given society as reflected in their ideas of control. However, its existence chiefly as a belief of the common people, and therefore not sharply defined, makes arbitrary distinctions very unsatisfactory.

Christianity, from the time of the composition of the gospels, at least, was interested in saving men from demonic power, and Jesus, the Savior, was either thought of as personally leading the forces of good in mortal combat with the demons, or as possessing some fluid quality which flowed from his person and filled the possessed or diseased one with its virtue. The latter view is less prominent in the Synoptic Gospels, particularly Mark, where Jesus is represented as discharging no small part of his function as champion of mankind against the hosts of evil. An

amplification of this is seen in the belief in guardian angels who were assigned to look after the welfare of some particular individual.[17] This belief was carried on into Christianity, e. g., by Hermas,[18] who says that each man is attended by two angels who strive for mastery over him, and advises that only the angel of righteousness be trusted. So far as one can judge from the evidence, it does not appear that the desire for salvation from demonic power was influenced by Greek or Hebrew thought as such. It is characteristic, rather, of a primitive type of life, and reflects those interests which persevere even through long periods of culture. The influx of foreign people from the lower social strata in the early years of the Roman Empire was no doubt largely responsible for the prevalence of this kind of salvation hope.

Another phase of the hope of salvation which had been inherited from primitive Christianity and from Judaism, was that involved in the establishment of the heavenly kingdom. The Christians had never entertained the radical political hopes which had allured some of the Jews into dangerous enterprises. They looked for no sword-wrought redemption which would give them the mastery of the world. However, they were not entirely freed from earthly entanglements. The disquieting element in their experience was, in large measure, the political ills with which they were afflicted. The persecutions which the Christians have been supposed to have suffered, were for the most part local and entirely lacking in systematic organization. Yet on account of religious prejudices they were sufficient to engender a great deal of bitterness toward the Roman government. Paul, much of whose work fell within the happier years of Nero's reign, himself had no polemic against Rome. In fact he was proud of his citizenship and appealed to Caesar, as his subject, when accused by his countrymen. He advised obedience and submission to government because it was "ordained of God."[19] He did not advocate the destruction of recognized social institutions, such as slavery, except by saying in an intangible way, that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew.[20] But both by the expectation of the kingdom of God and by the leveling down of all social and racial distinctions through the life in Christ, he placed a very secondary importance upon the function of government in ultimately curing the ills of mankind.

At a later time, local encounters with authorities produced a heightened feeling of distrust toward the political organization of Rome. The Apocalypse of John is a veritable Christian hymn of hate as far as the government is concerned. The great desire of the author was that salvation from the tyranny of Rome might be secured through the speedy coming of Christ and the establishment of a heaven sent kingdom. The outlook of the Apocalypse is decidedly Jewish. Sensuous views of the kingdom are to be found in such Christian literature of a later time as was untouched by the milder Hellenistic spirit.[21]

There was, however, a strong tendency to soften the harshness which Jewish particularism had created in the apocalyctic hope. To do so meant the elimination of the genuine apocalyptic qualities, though the symbolism of the kingdom was retained. The contrast between the ordinary conception of the kingdom and that which was entertained by non-Jewish religion is seen in the Fourth Gospel.[22] The dialog between Pilate and Jesus was intended to bring out the difference between the two kingdoms which they represented. Jesus was king of truth; Pilate, of the kingdom of force. The kingdom of truth was in the world but not of the world.[23] The kingdom of force was of the world. The Fourth Gospel was intended to bring out the inferior character of the earthly kingdom, but not by comparing it with an apocalyptic kingdom such as the Jews and Jewish-Christians were wont to expect.[24] The real comparison was between the kingdom of force and the kingdom of quiet, pervasive truth. The Messiah, whom the Jews awaited, was not the one who was to usher in this kingdom of truth. Jesus was superior to him.[25] His realm was world wide in its scope. Yet Jesus did not go to the Gentiles. Hence the Fourth Gospel tells of Greeks coming to Jesus, who was acknowledged by God's voice as they stood by. Jesus in effect stated that he could not in person go to all the world, but that through his death all men would be drawn to him.[26] He was not the shepherd of the Jews alone, but of all.[27]

There is, in John, a persistent plea for universality which is not so consistently presented in the other gospels and not more so in Paul. Even the Baptist did not announce, according to the Fourth Gospel, the Messianic kingdom of God, but "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." Nor did God have any favorites in the scheme of redemption, for He "so loved

the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."[28]

On the formal side, there were, then, two tendencies of thought: one, a development and refinement of the Messianic kingdom for which there was keen anticipation, (members were elected out of this world, and while here held "citizenship in heaven," awaiting the coming of Christ[29]); the other, more speculative and more mystical, and not patterned after the materialistic forms of earthly experience. The conflict between these two ideals continued for no short period of time. The victory was officially lost by apocalypticism through the repeated delays in the coming of the kingdom and the necessity which intelligent Christians faced of seeking salvation in the present.

Some of the changes which took place in minor phases of the kingdom idea may well be noted in this connection.

The influence of Paul had been to remove law and substitute faith as the means by which man might avail himself of salvation. But not all followed his lead. He acknowledged that formerly the Jews had been under a covenant and were obliged to obey the law, but the new relationship with God was different. It was a life in the Spirit in which law did not operate. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews sees in the new program of Christianity, not an arrangement different from the old, but one that was superior. Salvation is still the result of doing the will of God according to a recognized and established relationship.[30] This new covenant was legally sealed by the death of Christ as a sacrifice.[31] Jesus, moreover, was the pattern of right living and thus the gateway to salvation. Indeed, He even intercedes for those who are drawn by His example, and saves "to the uttermost."[32] The author of Hebrews thinks of mankind as still under legal relationship to God, but he devotes himself to the practical task of inspiring men to a life like that of Christ, that he, the high priest who is beside God, may intercede for the salvation of all. He did not "build a hedge about the law."

The Epistle of James also interprets the Christian life in terms of law, though he calls it a law of liberty, a royal law.[33] "Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself upspotted from the world."[34]

It would seem that the idea of legal observances, which Judaism had employed so strenuously in connection with the expected appearance of the kingdom, was broadened and vitalized by many Christians for whom the urgency of immediate other-worldly salvation had been lost. Among the Jews, and apparently among the earliest Christians, law and kingdom were inseparable; and the law was kept as such with a view to hastening the day of the Lord. But after Christianity had detached itself from strictly Jewish surroundings, it became possible to develop an attitude toward the law which was different from the older conception, while still holding to the hope of the kingdom. The Lord would appear at his own pleasure, "like a thief in the night," and taking all men unaware. Christians were conscious of a disparity between the old rejected law and the new which they were willing to obey. Apparently the new law had a more ethical significance than many of the Jewish zealots had seen in the old. In the Graeco-Roman world, there was a growing sense of ethical values and of obligation to duty. Discourses on these subjects were heard in every market place, in every public square, and in every school. Even the Gentiles saw in the moral law, the law of God, the rewards and penalties of which were surely to be meted out.

The picture of the kingdom was prominent among the Christians for a long time and yet it seems progressively to have lost its distinctness through the introduction of practical problems. In proportion as this world became attractive or workable, the desire to escape was lessened, and the men settled down to the life of duty, hoping still for a future salvation, but apart from the violent realism of apocalypticism, and the formal observance of a fixed and artificial law.

In so far as the conception of law and kingdom was retained, salvation was dependent upon personal relations and attitudes. In the Graeco-Roman life, in which Christianity first labored, there was little feeling for social control through the exercise of legal authority on account of the instability of governments. But all the while the Roman Empire was building up its power and gradually amalgamating all the elements within it. Accompanying this there was an increasing respect for law and a growing allegiance to the state. Under such conditions, it is not strange to see in the field of religion, (the mirror of all social

interests), a regard for law not based on the older Jewish feeling, but upon the dignity of Roman citizenship, even among those who expected the world order finally to be set aside.

Aside from the unquestioned phases of the Christian quest for salvation which are to be traced back to Jewish and primitive Christian sources, there are to be noted certain advances in the adaptation of the message to the Gentile world beyond what Paul made or even anticipated. That such a step should be taken was entirely consistent with the previous history of the movement. There was as yet no background of history to give sacredness to forms. The gospel was eagerly seeking support and recognition among the people with whom it was coming into contact, while they were in turn seeking some solution for their religious problems. We have seen how in its earliest years it promised salvation on the basis of conduct within a group in which the individual received his reward in return for allegiance and proper service rendered to God; also how later the demands of new converts called forth the promise of salvation through a transformed life. This latter development was destined to go even farther in consequence of a more intimate contact with the speculation of the Hellenistic world.[35]

Paul was apparently less impressed by the speculative interest than by the picturesque qualities of mystery religion. Yet he was aware of the pressure brought to bear on Christianity by the wisdom of this world. He confessed that he lacked "excellency of speech or of wisdom,"[36] but professed to have a revealed wisdom, a wisdom in a mystery which was not of this world. The wisdom which the Christian might have was the gift of the Spirit, as was the gift of healing.[37]

But it is in the Johannine literature that the earliest and most pronounced reaction to speculative thought is to be clearly seen. At the time of the writing of the Gospel of John, the Gnostic heresies had not rent the church, though Gnosticism was present in the world. The fantastic beliefs which the Gnostics brought forth were created by an earnest desire to find salvation. Apparently no very elaborate schemes were evolved until near the time of the heresies within the church. Gnosticism being syncretistic, readily appropriated such elements of the Christian message as could be used to strengthen their position. Starting with the desire for salvation, the Gnostics evolved a pictorial

dualism, as contrasted with the logical dualism of Stoicism and other philosophies. The problem on its speculative side was to explain the origin of evil while maintaining the purity of God, and on the practical side, to provide a means by which man might be saved from evil. The first was achieved by the adoption of a mythological representation of the process of creation, and the second by the appropriation of divine aid through mystical knowledge or wisdom.

The mythologies of Gnosticism generally represented a pure, unapproachable being as the ultimate power in the universe. A series of emanations resulted in a subordinate power who created the world and all its evil. Thus while God is the ruler of the universe, he is not himself the creator of evil.[38]

The logos doctrine was one of the most popular theories of the ancient world. Aside from its purely metaphysical value, it was widely disseminated as a means of supporting various practical religious enterprises. Stoicism employed it, and was transformed into an effective religious mission, though a philosophy in form. Philo and the author of IV Maccabees read the logos theory into Jewish religion and thereby added to the dignity and power of their faith. The author of the Fourth Gospel, though not directly influenced by any known person or school, successfully employed the logos in connection with other theories to give convincing proof of the divine nature of the Christian savior. The logos doctrine was not outwardly a soteriology, but it was used more in connection with questions of salvation, than with questions of pure metaphysics. Both orthodox and heterodox gave it great prominence.

The soteriology of Gnosticism, like the mythology, made use of picturesque features. A special emanation was sent out from God and came to earth in the form of Jesus. While here he imparted saving gnosis to man, who was entangled in the material world, and waged a victorious battle against the *demiurge*, though through the latter's activity the Savior was apparently put to death. But, so the mythology runs, the real Christ was only dwelling temporarily in the flesh and before the crucifixion departed, leaving in man's possession the mystical secret of divine knowledge by which he might be saved. Just as Jesus was "raised," so man without waiting for death might enter

into the life of the resurrection through the gateway of *gnosis*. He would be illuminated by the revelation.[39]

There were certain phases of the gnostic faith which Christians of the more orthodox type could not endure, and prominent among these was the docetic interpretation of Christ's death. John places great stress upon the character of Jesus' resurrection body,[40] besides asserting that Jesus came in the flesh,[41] and lived a life in the flesh. Ignatius, also, was obliged to combat the docetic tendencies within the church.[42] Similarly, Irenaeus opposed Gnotsicism when it had become organized and threatened to overthrow the traditional beliefs of Christianity.[43]

But in spite of the bitter opposition to this phase of thought, Christianity did not keep itself free from its touch. The Fourth Gospel makes knowledge essential and central in the scheme of redemption. "He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life."[44] "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."[45] In fact there are a number of elements in the Johannine account which relate it to the Gnostic type of thought. The Jesus of the flesh was also the eternal Logos through whom the world was made.[46] The judgment was not placed in the future as in the Jewish scheme,[47] and death was conquered immediately through belief,[48] as in Gnosticism.[49]

Gnosticism can not be dismissed because of the absurdity of its system. It was a genuine attempt to find salvation. And as a quest it came to Christianity in search of assurance. While it was overthrown by the church (and incidentally by its opposition, it greatly strengthened the church), it nevertheless influenced the Christian message by presenting very urgent demands from the hearts of men. Christianity furnished it with a body of literature and traditions, from which it gathered many legendary and historical accounts about which it could build its speculative system. In return, but not as a free gift, Gnosticism brought about a sharper definition of the orthodox Christian point of view.

The interest which Gnosticism and Gnostic Christianity fostered was the metaphysical interest. Salvation was guaranteed by the fact that the Savior was of divine nature; he was the Logos. After the performance of his dramatic task, he abode among men as the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, in a kingdom in this world, but not of it, the subjects of which were

also not of this world. In so far as Christianity was influenced by this movement, it was led still farther in the direction of a salvation made possible by the transference of divine potency into human experience. At bottom, this had a tendency to overthrow ethical considerations, but in actual practice the heritage from other sources was sufficiently vital and the practical considerations sufficiently urgent to maintain a proper balance.

The intellectual acumen of the Christian leaders was probably greatly increased by their conflict with the Gnostic speculation. Certainly at the middle of the second century and after, philosophy had a rank which it had not hitherto enjoyed among Christians. The earlier statements about salvation were universalized and made dignified in comparisan with the great systems of the past,[50] but, in actual fact, Christian ideas of salvation were not changed or developed as radically from this source as by conceptions of a more humble character which were capable of being put into tangible form for the average person.

As has been shown in this discussion, the typically Graeco-Roman belief in redemption implied a transfer of power, not ethically conditioned, by which the evil, from which one wished to be saved, was expelled. (The explanation of the fact that this was characteristic of Graeco-Roman life need not be discussed here. Nor are ultimate origins of great importance.) Other beliefs did flourish from time to time, it is true, but never to the extent that they became typical. This general belief in the form of sacramentalism entered the church and finally dominated the Christian idea of salvation. We have seen that baptism and the Lord's Supper were in Paul tinged with the feeling of the mystery religions, though there was no formal connection. The author of the Fourth Gospel evidently attaches some special significance to the sacramental power of the baptismal water, in his emphasis on birth of water and spirit,[51] and the mingling of water and blood from the wound in Jesus' side.[52] Sacramentalism in the church is also suggested by John's account of Jesus' discourse on the bread of life.[53]

Later Christian teachers gave the rites of the church an unmistakable sacramental character. Ignatius hints at sacramentalism when he says: "Ye are initiated into the mysteries of the Gospel with Paul."[54] His meaning is clear when he says to the Romans,[55] "I desire the bread of God . . . which is the

flesh of Christ; . . . and I desire the drink of God, namely his blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life." Justin Martyr refers to baptism as an act of regeneration.[56] Irenaeus also attributes to baptism a regenerative value.[57] In one place,[58] he speaks at considerable length about the "nourishing" power of the Lord's Supper. The body of Jesus had been real flesh, and by its resurrection had gained the potency of making the flesh of men immortal through the Eucharist. The Lord's Supper was food of immortality.

The resurrection interest was very keen among the Christians of that day. The question about the resurrection of the flesh was widely debated. Apparently a large number of the Christians, presumably with Greek or Oriental background, denied that the body would be raised. Their conviction was based on the dualism of the time which caused men to seek release from the flesh. The Jews had believed in a physical resurrection, else how could they enjoy the coming kingdom? The Christian belief was apparently based on the corresponding expectation of the kingdom, but it gained much of its sharpness from the controversy over Jesus' resurrection, as the question was raised by the Docetists. Justin Martyr devoted a separate treatise to the subject (parts of which have been preserved). Deformities and sickness were to be healed in the resurrection just as they were by Jesus when he was on earth. Irenaeus also entered into a spirited contest with the "heretics," maintaining that no position is tenable except that just as Jesus rose from the dead so must all men.

It is also to be noted that as the Christian church progressed in the Graeco-Roman world, it did so with a decreasing unity of thought. In this respect it became like the world in which it lived. While it held tenaciously to many of its earlier positions, it was so assailed by new demands that it allowed some of its beliefs to be gradually neglected. Christianity was seeking salvation for its adherents in a renewed quest. If the requirements had been the same that Paul faced, Christianity would have ceased being a quest, it would have offered dogmas. In fact, this is exactly what did happen at a later time.

It is difficult or even impossible to characterize Christianity during the second century, beyond saying that its interests were widely diversified. Again it reflected the social forces and com-

plexes of its environment. But by this time its horizon was far wider than it had been. Instead of being a religion that was forced to retreat into isolation, it was openly in contact with every phase of life, and even dared to present its apologetic to the most cultured. It was continually engaging in a process of adaptation. All classes of people were being recruited in its ranks and each one was to be satisfied in his desire for a vital redemption.[59] The Christian message gained its power not by any convincing logic within a system of thought objectively considered, but by its ability to assure men that there was no other name than Jesus' given among men whereby they might be saved.

The influence of Graeco-Roman thought upon the church may be seen in the history and literature of many of the men who became leaders in the Christian church. Augustine, in his Confessions, tells of his pilgrimage through many systems of thought in his search for rest.[60] Other writings show that he never effaced the marks which were made upon his mind by these philosophies. His doctrine of God is plainly a reminiscence of his Neo-Platonic experience, and his conception of salvation as rest in God is from the same source. His belief in "original sin" was a deepening of Paul's evaluation of human nature, and the need of a permanent indwelling in God.

The culmination of another influence from Graeco-Roman life is seen in Augustine's "City of God." After the spread of Christianity into all parts of the Roman Empire, there came into the church many who did not entertain the earlier Christian ideas regarding the worthlessness of this world order. The church gradually appropriated ideas of control, built up an organization unconsciously patterned after the state, and brought all means of salvation under its dominance. The church became the channel of grace and as such formally determined what should be the forms of soteriological belief. The creeds which were promulgated from time to time register a characteristic attitude to incorporate all moderate ideas in a tolerable system of thought. The nature of Christ was fixed in order to satisfy those who were dominated by the formulae of Graeco-Roman thought, and who felt that a man could not be saved unless evil human nature was transformed by the indwelling of the divine Christ in an earthly body, and the perpetual transformation of

humanity effected through the miracle of the eucharist. Similarly there was recognition given to those who responded to ethical demands and personal relationship to God, but this was effected more through the organization and administration of the church than through the formulation of the creeds.

Thus, from the time Christianity became an independent movement in a growing world until it was crystallized in a stable form, it was concerned chiefly with meeting the divergent questions of earnest seekers after salvation, and by this act was continued as a quest for salvation.

CONCLUSION.

In placing an estimate upon early Christianity as one of the religions of the ancient world, three points should be kept in mind: (1) the steps of its historical development; (2) its character as a body of ideas or a quest for salvation; and (3) the sources of the technique by which it operated.

(1) The growth of Christianity from a small, and narrow, if not particularistic religion, to a bold, aggressive faith with world-wide ambitions, has been all too lightly touched upon in this discussion, but it is clear that during the first few centuries, it came into contact with practically all the known world and closely paralleled in its development, the expanding Roman Empire. The personnel of its leadership and its membership was changed radically, at first a few Palestinian Jews, later a number of Grecian Jews, and finally those who had never known Judaism except through social prejudices, on the one hand, and formally through their sacred literature, on the other. With the recruits from ever widening circles, there came interests which primitive Christianity could not have dealt with to any great degree, if at all, and the diversity of these interests varied as did the groups from which they came. The effect of this can not have been anything short of revolutionary. The historical task is to determine at what points the significant additions and alterations were made. There has been a tendency to push forward the date when Gentile beliefs and practices first began to effect the message of Christianity, on the ground that the Gospel had a fairly definite form which was and should have been preserved in its original purity as long as possible.

(2) But it should be borne in mind that the real line of ancestry is to be found in the succeeding social and environmental situations in which the Christian community found itself from time to time. The struggle for existence was on behalf of gaining a certain salvation and not to preserve what had been given, even though such a claim was made. There was nothing more immediate than the needs to which men gave a religious interpretation. Christ was brought into the range of human experience in various ways during even the first centuries of the history of the faith, but he was always related to the need for salvation and always was interpreted as satisfying all the require-

ments. It is of no consequence that the past was used to validate interpretations. In any case it was the present distress which was giving the driving power.

An illustration of the character of Christianity may be seen in the ethical situation which it confronted. However high may have been the ethical standards of the primitive church, it can not be said that it was destined to success because of this fact. Celsus twitted his Christian rivals with the lower standards of admission which the church had in comparison with the mysteries. Even if the church had had equal or superior standards, there is no reason to suppose that she would have been destined because of it, to impress the whole world with her message. The significant thing is that she had an ethical problem at which she was working, a fact of more vital importance than a standard. Moreover that ethical problem was conditioned by the social conditions under which people were living, and not by the precepts of the past, which had to be reinterpreted unless by chance they suited the case in hand. Just so in the case of religion's greatest task, salvation. Other religions offered every kind of salvation that Christianity dealt with, but they, for the most part, were not plastic enough to deal with the changing requirements of humanity. Those which made the best adaptations were Christianity's closest rivals. But Christianity was continually dealing with the problem. It finally developed until it dealt with every kind of salvation interest. It offered every kind of salvation, but it had only one savior. The tendency of the Graeco-Roman religions was to equate their gods with all other gods. But Christianity did not do so. In this we see evidence that salvation was actually more vital than Christology.

This raises the question as to the nature of the relationship between the Gentile religions and Christianity. Parallels in form are interesting, but they are not convincing, and at best they are always debatable. But it is by no means necessary to insist that forms were borrowed, while maintaining that Christianity was profoundly influenced by its neighbors and rivals. It is entirely conceivable that Paul, let us say, found the elements of all of his beliefs in Jewish religion. Certainly the Jews at one time or another dealt with all the salvation ideas, though with varying degrees of interest. But the question of significance is: Were there stimuli in the Graeco-Roman world which prompted

him to develop ideas which had lain dormant in Judaism and early Christianity? One can not resist the positive conviction that problems arising out of Gentile religious situations drove Paul to interpret his faith in terms comparable to those of the rival faiths. His ideas of the Spirit, human nature, etc., may have a remote Jewish ancestry, but his employment of them was unquestionably influenced directly from the side of Hellenistic life.

(3) The characteristic technique employed by the Jewish mind and that employed by Graeco-Romans is sufficiently distinct to make a comparison possible. Judaism, being a religion created and sustained in the midst of a highly organized social structure, sought to control the destiny, or believed that it was controlled, by personal relations or attitudes. Some exceptional features, like tabu, were not eradicated, but their position was not prominent. Among the Graeco-Romans, however, especially between the age of Alexander and that of Augustus, there was little or no social control of a stable character upon which theodicy could be built. Naturally enough, men fell back upon a non-social conception and pictured the control of human destiny in terms of interchange of power in a physical or mechanical way. Out of this developed magic, mystical identification with the god, or ontological metaphysics by which salvation was assured. Certain exceptions to the rule are to be seen here also, notably emperor worship and certain phases of Mithra worship. But these exceptions, when studied in the light of their genesis and function, do not invalidate the distinction already suggested.

While certain details may lack satisfying analysis, the general features of the growing Christian movement are clearly enough distinguished to justify the conclusion that as Christianity moved farther and farther out into the Gentile world, it responded to the stimuli brought to bear upon it, and developed a technique of salvation which was continually accommodated to the changing needs of men. Thus in the midst of other quests for salvation, it became through its adaptability the one great quest, to whose standard of allegiance all the citizens of the Roman world might rally.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF SALVATION BELIEFS

1. Anselm's Cur Deus Homo is an excellent illustration of the influence of social ideas and experience on theology.

2. See Durkheim: The Elementary Forms of Religious Life; Ames: The Psychology of Religious Experience; Irving King: The Development of Religion; Wundt: The Elements of Folk Psychology.

3. There is no inherent necessity in the salvation idea, broadly interpreted, which demands the presence of a savior god. However, such a god is almost universally present as a provider of salvation. Apparent exceptions are probably due to the presence of a strong feeling of self-reliance overshadowing dependence on a god. "According to the same writer (Saussaye: Religion of the Ancient Teutons p. 463) ideas of gods seem to have had little place in the thought of the free wandering Vikings. That many of them were godless means simply that their reliance upon their own strength was not favorable to the development of deities." Irving King: The Development of Religion, p. 260.

4. It is beyond the purpose of the present study to deal with the genetic study of the elements of religious faith in order to locate the psychological antecedents of salvation ideas. The original importance of food and sex instincts (or interests) is undisputed, but in all observable religions it is clear that there is also an interest in things which are not intimately connected with the above-named interests and which appear to function independently. Consult Irving King: The Development of Religion, chapters 1-4; and Ames: The Psychology of Religious Experience, chapter 3.

5. Illustrations of this type of belief are abundant in the history of religions. The deification of the powers of fertility in such divinities as Ishtar and Adonis (Semitic) and Osiris (Egyptian) reflect an early concern for the success of the yearly agricultural venture or the multiplication of the flocks. In the Eleusinian mysteries particularly the recurrence of the seasons of seed time and harvest was represented as anxiously sought. To the devotee of the cult, the fear of impending famine and the hope for plenty marked the highest interests which could be made primary in his experience. In the Rig-Veda (5.83.8) the rain god Parjanya is addressed as follows: "Lift up the mighty vessel, pour down water and let the liberated streams rush forward. Saturate both the earth and the heaven with fatness and for the cows let there be drink abundant." A plea for protection is as follows: "Not to the fanged that bites, not to the toothless: give us not up, thou conqueror, to the spoiler." Rig Veda 1.189.5. (All Rig-Veda quotations are from A. C. Clayton: The Religion of the Rig-Veda.)

6. Note the citation to Rig-Veda 5.83.8 above.

7. Rig-Veda 7.46.2-3: "Come willingly to our doors that gladly welcome thee, and heal all sickness, Rudra, in our families. . . . Thou, very gracious god, hast thousand medicines: inflict no evil on our sons or progeny." Quite generally sickness was thought of as the result of demon-possession or at least demon-infliction. For illustrative references consult Jane Harrison: Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, chapter 5. Salvation under such circumstances received a great deal of emphasis on the negative side, i. e., release from demons. Popular imagination elaborated the conception greatly.

8. The History of the Jewish people is replete with such desire and expectation. At various times Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome imperilled the individuality of the Jewish nation. Yet the net

result was the sharpening of individual consciousness in a confident trust that deliverance would eventually come to the beleagured people of God. When Israel had leaders who dared to struggle for her independence, she looked for a sword wrought redemption (e. g., I Macc. 4:8-12), but, under the stress of defeat and subjugation, the apocalyptic hope became the expression of a persistent belief in salvation being given to a faithful people through miraculous means. See below, Chapter II.

9. This interest in cultural and social freedom lay close to the hearts of the great philosophic movements which functioned as religions for many Graeco-Romans. It is also reflected in the statements which assert that in Christ there is neither bond nor free (Ephesians 6:8; Colossians 3:11; and Philemon).

The breakdown of national or group unity among the early Aryans who gradually worked down to South India among the aboriginal tribes, and the building up of a caste system in its place, would probably have permitted a type of social salvation, had not the social stratification been too rigid.

10. Rig-Veda 5.85.7-8: "If we have sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend, or comrade, the neighbor ever with us, or a stranger, O Varunna, remove from us this trespass. If we, as gamesters cheat at play, have cheated, done wrong unwittingly, or sinned of purpose, cast all these sins away like loosened fetters, and, Varunna, let us be thine own beloved."

11. See Matthew 4:11.

12. See Wundt: Elements of Folk Psychology, chapter III, section 11.

13. The terms "ethics" and "ethical" are not used here in the qualitative or moral sense, but simply as indicating relations between persons.

14. For discussion and bibliography see Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, chapter 3.

15. Justin Martyr: Apology 66.4.

CHAPTER II

HEBREW AND JEWISH QUESTS FOR SALVATION

1. Jehovah was a mountain god of thunder, if we accept the suggestions of the story of Moses meeting him on the mount and conversing with him (Exodus 19 and 24). He was a god of fire (of lightning), as his presence in the burning bush (Exodus 3), and in the pillar of fire (Exodus 13:21) would indicate. See also Genesis 15:17 and Psalm 18:8, 12. He was worshipped at trees (Genesis 21:33), or at stones in which he was thought to reside (Genesis 28:22). Jehovah was also identified with Baal, the god of fertility (Hosea 2:16).

2. Genesis 7 and 9.

3. Exodus 15:22 ff.

4. Exodus 17; Numbers 20.

5. Exodus 16.

6. Exodus 15:26; 23:25.

7. Exodus 16:33.

8. See I Corinthians 10:4, "for they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them." Later tradition represents the rock as having the shape of a bee-hive and self-propelling power. See Louis Gingberg: The Legends of the Jews (1911), vol. III, p. 52-53; also Hasting's Bible Dictionary, "Rock". J. A. Selbie.

9. See J. M. P. Smith: The Rise of Individualism among the Hebrews, American Journal of Theology, volume 10, pp. 251-266.

10. Genesis 13:16; cf. 22:16-18; 26:4; 32:12.

11. Genesis 16:1 ff.

12. I Samuel 2:1, 5.

13. Luke 1. Of a similar nature, but more in contrast with later codes of ethics, are the accounts of intrigue and deception to which Lot's daughters (Genesis 19:30-38) and Tamar applied themselves (Genesis 38). In each of these cases there is reflected no sense of guilt. Rather there is implied a justification of the measure adopted. In these instances there is not outward identification of the course followed with a divine plan, as in the story of Abraham and Sarah, but the similarity of intent is unmistakable.

14. Isaiah 49:21.

15. Genesis 27.

16. Genesis 30:1-23; Isaiah 47:9; 49:21.

17. Exodus 13:17-15:21.

18. Exodus 14:13-14; see further, The Song of Moses, Exodus 15:1-18; and Exodus 23:22.

19. Exodus 17:8-13.

20. I Samuel 4:4; II Samuel 6:2.

21. Numbers 14:41-45.

22. I Samuel 4-6.

23. Cf. Isaiah, passim; Daniel 9:4-19; the Maccabaean psalms 44, 74, 79, 83, etc.

There are instances in which an individual secures immunity from enemies through the help of Jehovah, but these are not to be differentiated from the preservation of groups from their enemies, except, of course, on the mere basis of numbers. Cf. Daniel 3:12-27 and 6:16-23.

The prevalence of hopes for national salvation is amply attested by the constant recurrence in the Old Testament of the words "salvation", "save", or "savior", in passages which deal with or reflect threatened disaster to the children of Israel.

24. The will of God was made known in different ways: through manifestations in nature, such as the rustling of leaves (II Samuel 5:24; Homer: Odyssey 14:327), or the presence or absence of dew (Judges 6:36-40), by some procedure involving chance, as the use of the Urim and Thummin, or of arrows (Ezekiel 21:21), also in many other ways but chiefly through some spokesman sent by God, who through dreams or a direct revelation was made acquainted with the way by which divine power would assist man in his difficulty. There grew up a ministry of salvation in which angels and prophets were the chief figures.

25. For a full discussion of Hebrew ethics see H. G. Mitchell: The Ethics of the Old Testament.

26. II Samuel 12:1-15.

27. Psalm 24.

28. Isaiah 51.

29. Contrast chapter 47, where universal salvation is not indicated.

30. Isaiah 45:22-23; 56:1; 60:18; 66:23, etc.

31. It is interesting in connection with this, as well as with later literature, that there are frequent expressions of the idea that Jehovah would subjugate all nations to Israel. This is an illuminating commentary on the type of salvation which was sought. The power of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome was felt from time to time in Palestine. It was a common experience for the Jews to be in bondage. It is not strange, therefore, that bitterness of oppression should produce such a resentful exclusiveness as was sometimes expressed by the Jews.

32. Psalms of Solomon 12:2; 15:8 f. References to late Jewish literature are cited from R. H. Charles: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.

33. R. H. Charles in his Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life (Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology, Jowett Lectures 1898-99)

discusses this topic somewhat in detail: see pp. 177-179, 200-203, 242-244; also index "Kingdom."

34. Psalms of Solomon 17:24, 41; I Baruch 4:25, 33; Sirach 36:1,76.

35. Psalms of Solomon 8:34, 17:28; I Baruch 5:5; Tobit 14:5; Sirach 36:11.

36. I Baruch 4:14-35; Tobit 13:10, 16; 14:5.

37. Schürer: History of the Jewish People 1.1.225, English translation of third German edition. See Wellhausen: Pharisäer und Sadducäer, p. 84,

38. The Wars of the Jews 6.5.4.

39. Antiquities 20.8.10.

40. Antiquities 20.8.6. The Wars of the Jews 2.13.4 and 5.

41. Antiquities 18.1.6; 20.8.5 and 6.

42. Schürer: History of the Jewish People, 1.2.178. Josephus: The Wars of the Jews 7.10.1.

43. Consult Schürer.

44. The Messianic beliefs of the non-canonical literature are less familiar than those of the canonical Old Testament, and treatises on the subject are not as accessible, hence this incomplete discussion is put forward tentatively. See the works of Charles on the literature and ideas of late Judaism.

45. I Enoch 9:6, 9, 10; 10:7, 8.

46. I Enoch 16:1.

47. I Enoch 5:9; 10:7, 16, 20-22; 25:6.

48. I Enoch 28:5; Cf. 90:29.

49. I Enoch 10:17-19.

50. I Enoch 5:7-9.

51. II Maccabees 1:27; 2:18; 7:37.

52. II Maccabees 14:15.

53. II Maccabees 7:9, 36.

54. II Maccabees 7:11; 14:46.

55. II Maccabees 7:29.

56. See Charles: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol. 1, note on Jubilees 31:18.

57. Cf. Psalms of Solomon 17:23-36; II Baruch 29:3.

58. IV Ezra 13:26-36.

59. IV Ezra 7:28-30.

60. II Enoch 32:2-33:2.

61. Assumption of Moses 10:7.

62. II Baruch 29:4-30:1; 73:1, 2, 7; 74:1.

63. Charles: Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 214 and note.

64. I Enoch 40:7.

65. I Enoch 62:2.

66. I Enoch 41:2; 45:4, 5.

67. I Enoch 50:1, 2.

68. IV Ezra 7: 61; cf. 7:47, 48; 8:1-3.

69. See Charles: Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, index "Resurrection."

70. Value of morality: Psalms of Solomon 12, 13, 15, 16; I Enoch 22; of keeping the law: Wisdom of Solomon 6:18, 19; IV Maccabees 11:7. Also Weber: Jüd. Theologie, 3 Aufl. p. 349, where the Talmud is quoted as saying, "If Israel for only two Sabbaths would keep the law, she would be redeemed." See also Schürer: History of the Jewish People, 2.2.128.

71. IV Maccabees 1:6; 3:5.

72. Wisdom of Solomon 6:24; 8:17; 9:18; 10:4.

73. See also Deuteronomy 32:17; Leviticus 16:8 ff.; Judges 5:4, 20; I Kings 22:19; Psalms 106:37; Isaiah 24-26; 34:14.

74. Judges 9:23; I Samuel 14:15; 8:3.

75. Tobit 3:8, 17; 6:14-17; 8:3.

76. I Enoch chapters 1-36.
77. I Enoch 69:4, 6.
78. I Enoch 40:7.
79. I Enoch 53:3; 56:1; 63:11.
80. Testaments of the XII: Benjamin 5:2; also Simeon 3:5. See The Epistle of James 4:7, 8.
81. Philo: de Monarchia 2:226.15. For a fuller discussion see Conybeare: "Christian Demonology", Jewish Quarterly Review, vol. 8, pp. 576-608; vol. 9, pp. 59-114; 444-470; 581-603.
82. Note the reference above to the effect of Stoicism on IV Maccabees (1:6; 3:5).
83. M. Friedländer, in two articles ("Judaism in the pre-Christian Greek World," Theol. Litteraturzeitung, 1897, no. 12; and "Pauline Emancipation from the Law a Product of the pre-Christian Jewish Diaspora," Jewish Quarterly Review, vol. 14, pp. 265 ff.) has maintained that there was a decided split in the Diaspora as a consequence of the loss of national consciousness and the interest in Gentile philosophic thought. His view has been attacked as too radical, particularly by Schürer.
84. See Wm. Robertson Smith: Religion of the Semites (1894) pp. 356 ff.; also Ames: The Psychology of Religious Experience, chapter 7.
85 See Ames: The Psychology of Religious Experience, chapters 4 and 5.
86. "According to a tradition, which is found in the Mishna (Pesachim 4.9) and in certain Byzantine writers (Suidas: Lex under Ἐξεκίας, and Glycas in Fabricius, Cod. pseudepigrapha 1.1042 f.) we learn that the pious king Hezekiah ordered the suppression of Solomon's 'Book of Cures', because the people trusted it so much that they neglected to pray to God." Quoted from Schürer: History of the Jewish People 2.3.153-4. It would seem that while the practice and belief in magic were officially opposed, it did crop out from time to time.

CHAPTER III

GRAECO-ROMAN QUESTS FOR SALVATION

1. This may be seen with some degree of clearness in the development of the Hebrew religion.
2. For discussion and bibliography see Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, Chapter 9; also Cumont: Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.
3. See Cumont: Oriental Religions, p. 75.
   Plutarch: On Isis and Osiris, 28.
4. Plutarch: On Isis and Osiris, 13.
5. Plutarch: On Isis and Osiris, 27.
6. See Erman: Die Aegyptische Religion. Berlin 1910.
7. Θαρρεῖ τε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου ἔσαι γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία. Firmicus Maternus: de Errore profanarum Religionum, 22.
8. Citation from Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, p. 311.
9. On magic, astrology, and demonology, see Jane Harrison: Prolegomena to a Study of Greek Religion; Cumont: Oriental Religions, Chapter 7, et passim; and Cumont: Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans.
10. On magic as the basis of Gnosticism, see Legge: Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, volume 1, chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6; see also Hastings Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, volume 6, "Gnosticism," E. F. Scott.
11. See Cumont: Oriental Religions, pp. VIII and IX.

12. The influence of social forms on religion may probably be seen in the prominence of the goddess, though the husband may have a place in the myth. This prominence is thought to date back to a period of matriarchy. See Cumont: Oriental Religions p. 48.

13. See Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, pp. 285, 286.

14. Hastings Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, vol. 6, "Gnosticism," E. F. Scott.

15. Cumont: Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, pp. 36, 53-56.

16. Kaibel, Inscr. Gr. XIV, 1488, 1705, 1782, 1842.

17. Epimenides, a Cretan wizard, was summoned by Athens in 596 B. C. that he might purify the city from the guilt incurred by the murder of Cylon's followers at the altars of the gods. Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, Chapter 1.

18. Cumont: Oriental Religions, pp. 90-92.

19. Suetonius: Nero, 24.

20. Origen: Celsus III, 59 f.

21. Livy: Hist. XXIX, 10-14.

22. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III, 4413.

23. See Jane Harrison: Prolegomena, especially Chapter 5.

24. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI, 510.

25. See Cumont: Oriental Religions, Chapter 3, and notes.

26. Cumont: Oriental Religions, p. 99.

27. See Cumont: Oriental Religions, pp. 126, 129, and notes.

28. Cumont: Mysteries of Mithra, pp. 142-143.

29. See Cumont: Oriental Religions, pp. 157-159.

30. Julian: Caesares, p. 336 C.

31. Suggested by Cumont: Astrology and Religion, pp. 28, 29.

32. Legge: Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, volume I, p. 140.

33. Legge: Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, volume I, pp. 104, 107.

34. See Case: The Evolution of Early Christianity, Chapter 7; W. O. E. Oesterley: The Evolution of the Messianic Idea; and Petersen: Die wunderbare Geburt des Heilandes, pp. 32 ff.

35. Strabo: XIV, 1, 31. For further references to the deification of Alexander, see Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, pp. 205-208.

36. For discussion and references see Paul Wendland: ΣΩΤΗΡ, in Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, volume V (1904), pp. 335-353.

37. For details see Beurlier: Le Culte Impèrial, son histoire et son organization depuis Auguste jusqu' à Justinien. Paris 1891.

38. Suetonius: Augustus, 52 f.

39. Cf. Bigg: The Origins of Christianity, p. 17; Citations: Pausanias VIII, 2.5; 9.7; and Philostratus: Vita Apollonii, 1.15.

40. Cf. Beulier: Le Culte Impèrial, p. 155.

41. See Paul Wendland. ΣΩΤΗΡ, in Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, volume V (1904), pp. 335-353.

42. For references on identification and association of emperors with gods see Beurlier, Le Culte Impèrial, pp. 155-156.

43. Harper: Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (Chicago, 1892), part I, Number 2, p. 2 f.

44. "The best expression of this idea in words is pax deorum,—the right relation between man and the various manifestations of the Power, and the machinery by which it was secured was the ius divinum." W. W. Fowler: The Religious Experience of the Roman People, p. 431.

45. See Paul Wendland: Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur (1912), p. 143.

46. Vergil: Eclogue IV, Cited from Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, pp. 223-224.

47. Vergil: Aeneid, lines 791-794, Conington's Translation.

48. Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part IV, section I (Oxford, 1893), p. 63, number 894. Cited from Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, p. 226.

49. Cf. on Caligula, Josephus, Antiquities 18.7; and on Domitian, Suetonius: Domitian, 13. See also Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, pp. 216-217.

50. Beurlier gives a list of seventy-eight "divi" in Le Culte Impèrial, Appendice A.

51. Dion Cassius (63 1-5) quotes the greeting of Tiridates to Nero, "O Lord, I . . . . . am thy slave, I am come to thee, my God, worshipping thee even as I worship Mithra."

52. Boissier: Religion Romaine, volume I, p. 182.

53. Zeller: Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 17.

54. Other philosophies, of a more restricted range and less aggressive, as well as less unique, cannot be reviewed here. Their treatment, either direct or indirect, of the subject under discussion in this study, will, in all probability, fit into the main outlines of the systems here presented.

55. "Accustom thyself to believe that death is nothing to us, for good and evil imply sentience and death is the privation of all sentience; therefore, a right understanding that death is nothing to us makes enjoyable the mortality of life, not by adding to life an illimitable time, but by taking away the yearning after immortality. For life has no terrors for him who has thoroughly apprehended that there are no terrors for him in ceasing to live. Foolish, therefore, is the man who says that he fears death, not because it will pain him when it comes, but because it pains him in the prospect." Letter to Menoecus. Usener: Epicurea, p. 59 f. Cited from Hicks: Stoic and Epicurean, p. 169.

56. "The fine substance of the gods far withdrawn from our senses is hardly seen by the thought of the mind; and, since it has ever eluded the touch and stroke of the hands, it must touch nothing that is tangible for us; for that cannot touch which does not admit of being touched in return." Lucretius V, 148.

57. Revue de Philologie, 1877, p. 264.

58. Journal of Philology, XII, p. 212 ff.

59. Giussani: Lucretius, Volume I, p. 227 ff.

60. Cicero: De Natura Deorum, I, 45, 105, 109.

61. Hicks: Stoic and Epicurean, p. 292.

62. Taylor: Epicurus, p. 84.

63. Usener: Epicurea 3, p. 62.

64. Usener: Epicurea, p. 59 f. Cited from Hicks: Stoic and Epicurean, p. 170.

65. Catechism 5. See Zeller: Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 506.

66. Epictetus, Book 2, Chapters 1, 6.

67. Epictetus, Book 3, Chapter 1; Book 2, Chapter 8.

68. Plutarch: C. Not. 10.1.
Prof. in Virt. 12.82.
Seneca: Ep. 75.8.

69. Seneca: Ep. 71.18.
Plutarch: C. Not. 9.1.

70. Epictetus: Book 2, Chapter 8.

71. Translation by W. H. Porter, cited from Arnold's Roman Stoicism, pp. 85-87.

72. Epictetus: Book 1, Chapters 1, 7, 12.

73. Cicero: Tuscan Disputations 3, 10, 22;
4, 17, 39;
4, 18, 42;

74. Seneca: de Ira 1, 9, 2.

75. Pseudo-Plutarch V Hom. 134.

76. Posidonius: apud Sext. Emp. adv. math. IX, 71-4.
Also Cicero: Tuscan Disputations, 1, 40, 42, 43.
Plutarch: On the genius of Socrates, 22.
On the cessation of Oracles, 10.
Philo: de Somniis 1, 138 (p. 642).

77. Preserved by Galen from περὶ παθῶν by Posidonius. See M. Pohlenz, de Posidonii libris περὶ παθῶν, p. 62[illegible].

78. Crossley: Marcus Aurelius IV. p. XII.

79 Rendall: Marcus Aurelius, p. XV.

80. Plotinus: Enneads II. 9. section 18 (217 B) Volkmann Text (Teubner).

81. Plotinus: Enneads IV. 8. section 6 (474).
V. 2. section 1 (494).

82. Plotinus: VI. 9. section 7 (785). Cited from Fuller: The Problem of Evil in Plotinus, p. 59. The language of Plotinus is based upon the figure of the Good, the One, being the center about which are ranged concentric circles representing the different gradations of minor perfections.

83. Plotinus: Enneads III. 8. 4 and 8.

84. Plotinus: Enneads III. 4. 2.

85. Plotinus: Enneads IV. 9. 3.

86. Plotinus: Enneads III. 6. 6.

87. The philosophy of the Hermetic literature and of Philo is not treated here. Philo was as an individual thinker, very influential, though there was nothing that might be called a strictly Philonic sect or philosophic movement. His thought, as well as that of the Hermetic literature, was dualistic, and contributed nothing significant which was not also set forth by the philosophic schools of greater prominence. Other prominent individuals and phases of thought have been omitted from this discussion. It is believed that the ones reviewed here are characteristic of the Graeco-Roman life in the midst of which Christianity arose, and reveal the conditions which were formative in the development of all movements both pagan and Christian.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN QUEST FOR SALVATION

1. Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I, pp. 36-43.

2. See Case: Evolution of Early Christianity, chapter IV.

3. Cf. the tearing down of the Roman eagle in Jerusalem in 4 B. C., Josephus: Antiquities 17. 6. 2-4.

4. Cf. the collection taken by Paul to Jerusalem, Acts 24:17; I Corinthians 16:1-4.

5. Acts 7.

6. Objections to the validity of such an argument as this on the basis of uncertain historicity are of no great weight when it is taken into consideration that this narrative and speech are chiefly valuable as an indication that even as late as the composition of Acts, Christians considered themselves one with the Jews except on certain crucial points. Evidently this was a typical attitude of the Christians toward Jews.

7. Acts 22; 26; 28:17 ff.

8. Acts 10 and 11.

9. Acts 24:14.

10. "But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, saying, It is needful to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses," Acts 15:5. This is almost equivalent to saying that there were legalistic Christian Pharisees. If the term "Christian" is to be

used in describing this historical situation, it is rather as an adjective than as a designating name. Cf. also Acts 21:20.

11. E. g., Acts 15:1; 18:5 ff.; Romans; Galatians.
12. Acts 14:1; 19:10.
13. Matthew 10:5.
14. Matthew 15:21-28; Mark 7:24-30.
15. John 4:22.
16. Acts 18:5.
17. See above, Chapter II.
18. Matthew 1:1-17.
19. Luke 3:23-38.
20. Luke 1:30-35.
21. Matthew 2:1-2.
22. Luke 1:67-79.
23. Luke 2:38.
24. Matthew 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:29-44.
25. Matthew 27:37; Mark 15:26; Luke 23:38.
26. Acts 1:6.
27. See E. F. Scott: The Kingdom and the Messiah, pp. 41-42. "Indeed it is in only two portions of apocalyptic literature—the Similitudes of Enoch and the concluding Psalms of Solomon—that the Messiah appears as a really central figure," p. 42.
28. Acts 2:22.
29. Acts 2:36.
30. Acts 3:20; cf. 5:31.
31. It is not impossible that some zealous admirer of Jesus during his life may have believed that he was to be the Savior of Israel by means of the sword, but of that we have no evidence. If his disciple, Simon the Cananaean or Zealot (Mark 3:18, Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13), so thought of him, he seems not to have secured a following. However, the uncertainty of the exact meaning of the descriptive title "Zealot" is so great that one cannot say what the relationship of Simon was to the Zealot party.
32. See E. F. Scott: The Kingdom and the Messiah, pp. 49 ff., and references.
33. Cf. Philo: de Praemiis et Poenis, 16; and Josephus: The Wars of the Jews 6.5.
34. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work, the date of which is pre-Christian, contain references to the death of the Teacher, whose sudden return was awaited. The Christian expectation was not wholly without precedent.
35. Enoch 39; 45:4; 62:14; 71:16; see E. F. Scott: The Kingdom and the Messiah, p. 52.
36. "If Israel for only two Sabbaths would keep the law, she would be redeemed." Weber: Jüd. Theologie, 3 Aufl. p. 349, where the Talmud (Sabbath 118 b) is quoted.
37. The gospel picture of Jesus as the great healer of sickness and the powerful opponent of all the demonic powers is a similar extension or elaboration of the Messiah's office.
38. Philippians 4:5; I Thessalonians 5:2.
39. Matthew 5:17-18; cf. Luke 16:17.
40. Matthew 15:1-20; Mark 7:1-23.
41. For a full discussion on this point, see Schweitzer: The Quest of the Historical Jesus, chapters 15 and 16.
42. Universalism was probably no more an integral part of the early Christian message than of Jewish teaching, where it came to expression often. Contact with other peoples had a tendency to break down particularism, just as later Hellenistic Christians introduced into practice what had been only implicit in their message. We have already seen that Judaism at times yielded to pessimism and thereby limited the number who were to

be saved. (IV Ezra 7:61; cf. 7:47, 48; and 8:1-3). The same thing occurred in early Christianity, though God was not called indifferent to the loss of human souls, as in the Jewish literature. Only a few will be saved, only a few will enter in through the narrow gate, according to Matthew 7:13 ff. (Luke 13:24).

43. Cf. the accounts regarding Nicodemus (John 3:1 ff.; 7: 50-52; 19:39), and of Joseph of Arimathea (Matthew 25:57 f.; Mark 15:43 f.; Luke 23:50f.; John 19:38).

44. I Corinthians 15:4-8.

45. Matthew 16:13-16; Mark 8:27-29; Luke 9:18-20.

46. Matthew 3:2.

47. Matthew 3:11, 12; Mark 1:7, 8; Luke 3:16, 17.

48. Matthew 4:17; Mark 1:15.

49. Acts 3:19-21.

50. Acts 5:31, 42; 17:2, 3; 18:24-19:5; Matthew 28:18-20; etc.

51. Cf. Acts 3:19-21; 5:31; 16:30,31; Matthew 25:31-46.

52. Philippians 2:5-11.

53. James 5:3, 7-9.

54. The Epistle to the Hebrews, though purporting to deal with Jewish (Old Testament) conceptions, does so by the use of Alexandrian allegory, and thus can not be considered as an expression of the primitive Christian thought which has been under consideration here.

55. See the Testament of the XII.

56. Acts 19:11-20.

57. Other incidents which echo the primitive ideas of salvation may be suggested, such as the stilling of the tempest which threatened the lives of the disciples (Matthew 8:23-27 and parallels); the feeding of the multitudes (Matthew 14:13-21 and parallels, Matthew 15:32-39 and Mark 8:1-10); Peter's miraculous release from prison (Acts 12); Paul's escape from a storm at sea (Acts 27); and the viper bite which was made harmless (Acts 28:1-6).

58. Matthew 6:24.

59. Matthew 7:11.

60. Matthew 16:24, and parallels; cf. Matthew 10:37-39.

CHAPTER V

THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN QUEST IN A HELLENISTIC WORLD

1. In the preceding chapter we have seen that the two religions were at first virtually one, and that then their adherents had no intention of separating. The Christians meant to deal with their Jewish relatives and in a typically Jewish way. But the same documents which incidentally show the original connection, reveal even more closely the growing hostility between Jew and Christian. The story of Stephen's death, the persecutions of Christians by Paul, both according to Acts and to Paul himself, the trials which he met at the hands of his own countrymen, the bitter feeling toward the Jews revealed by the Fourth Gospel, all point to a final dissolution of the connection which formerly existed. The result was the complete reversal of the former state of affairs. Judaism, once the persecutor of Christianity, later found herself bitterly assailed by the growing power of her Christian rival. (Barnabas 4.6-8; 16.1-4; Diognetus 3; Justin: Apology I. 37; 39; 43-44; 47; 53; 60).

2. See Schürer: History of the Jewish People 2.2.220 ff.; Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity I. 1 ff.

3. Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums in Neutest. Zeitalter, pp. 139 ff.

4. Josephus, though a Palestinian, was enough of an opportunist to abandon the position of the fathers and to identify apologetically the conquest of the Romans with the prophecies of Ancient Israel. Saul, on the other hand, was a Jew of the Dispersion, but bitter and fanatic to a degree apparently unparalleled by any of his compatriots.

5. See Schürer: History of the Jewish People, 2. 2. 243 ff.

6. These are referred to with varying distinctness in Acts 10:2, 22, 35; 13:16, 26, 50; 16:14; 17:4; 18:7.

7. Josephus: The Wars of the Jews 7. 3. 3.

8. Acts 14:1; 15:1-5; 17:4, 12; 18:4; 19:10.

9. "To the Jewish mission which preceded it, the Christian mission was indebted, in the first place, for a field tilled all over the empire; in the second place, for religious communities already formed everywhere in the towns; thirdly, for what Axenfeld calls 'the help of materials' furnished by the preliminary knowledge of the Old Testament, in addition to catechetical and liturgical materials which could be employed without much alteration; fourthly, for the habit of regular worship and a control of private life; fifthly, for an impressive apologetic on behalf of monotheism, historical teleology, and ethics; and finally, for the feeling that self-diffusion was a duty. The amount of this debt is so large, that one might venture to claim the Christian mission as a continuation of the Jewish propaganda." Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, volume 1, p. 15.

10. For a summary of the external conditions which gave Christianity an opportunity to undertake its non-Jewish mission and fostered its development, see Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, volume 1, pp. 19-23.

11. Acts 28:23-28.

12. Cf. Peter's vision, Acts 10; Paul's decision to go to the Gentiles alone, Acts 18:6.

13. Matthew 28:7, 16-20; cf. also Mark 16:7, and John 21.

14. Cf. Luke 24:6, 7.

15. Acts 1:4, 8, 12.

16. Galatians 1:22; I Thessalonians 2:14.

17. Acts 1:8; 8:1 ff.; 9:31; 15:3.

18. Acts 9:2, 10, 19.

19. Acts 9:32 ff.

20. Acts 8:1 ff.

21. Acts 6:1 ff.

22. Acts 8:27 ff.

23. Acts chapters 3 and 8; and I Thessalonians 2:14.

24. Cf. Acts 6. Fanatic and rigid legalists among the Hellenists or Grecian Jews brought bitter charges against Hellenistic Christians.

25. Matthew 10:7.

26. Acts 2:38, etc.

27. Matthew 10:32; Acts 2:36; cf. II Thessalonians 2.

28. Acts 6:14.

29. Acts 8:26 ff.

30. Already there was quite a noticeable tendency in Judaism to deal with the matter of admission of new members in a way like that adopted by Christianity. The law and its attendant regulations were allegorized practically out of existence by some Jews. Naturally enough the requirements for admission were lowered on the side of formalism, or even entirely eliminated. The question of baptism and circumcision must have been fairly acute in many Jewish circles. See Lake: The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, p. 25 f.

31. Acts 11:19 f.

32. Acts 13:1.

33. Acts 11:20, but see the marginal note in the Revised Version.
34. Acts 13:1-3.
35. Acts 11:26.
36. Galatians 2.
37. Galatians 2:1-10.
38. Galatians 2:11-21.
39. Galatians 2:14-21.
40. Romans 15:25 ff.
41. Galatians 1:15 ff.
42. Acts 9:15; 26:16-18.
43. Acts 9:23 f.; Galatians 1:17.
44. Acts 19.
45. Matthew 24:14; Mark 13:10 ff.
46. Paul constitutes the chief source, for this phase of the investigation though the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, as products to a considerable degree of the first period of independence from the original Jewish life with which Christianity was for a time connected, furnish a considerable amount of data.
47. Eusebius, Church History 3. 5. 2 f.
48. Galatians 1:12 ff.
49. Acts 5:14; 17:4, 12; 18:4, 8, etc.
50. John 6:35; 11:26; 12:44 ff.; 20:29.
51. See above, Chapter II.
52. Galatians 2:16.
53. Galatians 3:10.
54. Romans 5:20; 7:7 ff.
55. Acts 5:30, 31.
56. Matthew 9:2-7 and parallels; Luke 7:47-50.
57. Cf. Isaiah 53: II Maccabees 7:32-38; IV Maccabees 6:27; 17:18-22. See also B. W. Bacon: American Journal of Theology, "The Gospel Paul Received", January, 1917 (pp. 15-42); and Deissmann: Light from the Ancient East, p. 339, for the Hellenistic view.
58. II Cor. 5:14.
59. Romans 5:12 ff.
60. I Corinthians 15:3; cf. also Mark 10:45; Matthew 20:28; John 11:49 ff.
61. Romans 3:25 ff.
62. Romans 5:9, 10.
63. Romans 3:25; 5:9; I Corinthians 5:7; 10:16; 11:25; Colossians 1:14, 20; cf. also Hebrews 9:14; I John 1:7; Revelation 7:14.
64. Philippians 4:5; I Thessalonians 5:2.
65. The "great apostasy" or "falling away", II Thessalonians 2.
The coming of the Messiah, I Thessalonians 4:16.
The resurrection of the dead believers, I Corinthians 15:12-19, 35-57; I Thessalonians 4:13-16; Philippians 3:21.
The transformation of the living believers, I Thessalonians 4:15, 17; I Corinthians 15:51-57.
The victory of the Messiah, II Thessalonians 1:7, 8; I Thessalonians 5:3; II Thessalonians 2:8.
The final judgment and the incidents attending it, Romans 2: 3-16; I Corinthians 3:13; 4:5; II Corinthians 5:10.
General statements about the future, I Corinthians 15:20-28; I Thessalonians 4:16-17.
66. Acts 23:6; 26:4, 5; Romans 11; II Corinthians 11:22; Galatians 1:13, 14.
67. The distinctions brought forward here are not based on national or racial origin and continuance, but upon the character of the social function which they performed. There is no a priori reason why Jewish and Gentile religions should not have given equal prominence to salvation by personal

relations and by contact of substances, beyond the fact that the social organizations of the two peoples fostered divergent types of soteriology. The divergent social forms are "accidents of history" which form no part of the present discussion.

68. Cf. Judges 9:23; I Samuel 16:15; I Kings 22:24, for personalized spirit; and Numbers 11:17, 25; II Kings 2:9, for substance spirit. See E. H. Zaugg: A Genetic Study of the Spirit-Phenomena in the New Testament", (Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, 1917), pp. 22 ff.

69. See above, Chapter III.

70. Romans 16:25; cf. also I Corinthians 2:1-10; Ephesians 1:9, 10; Colossians 2:2.

71. I Corinthians 4:1.

72. I Corinthians 13:2; 14:2; 15:51; Ephesians 3:3-11; 5:32; Colossians 1:27; 4:3; I Timothy 3:9, 16; Matthew 13:11. I Timothy 3:16 contains, as it were, an epitome of the Christian mystery drama. The Greek cults presented to their devotees the picturesque representation of the Gods' experiences in order to bring home the saving power of the deity, and to convince them of the value of following in the path of divine example. Christianity, more a spoken message and less a pictorial presentation of the drama than the Graeco-Roman religions, is at least in its dramatic qualities reminiscent of the mysteries of the Hellenistic world.

73. Romans 8:7.

74. Galatians 5:17.

75. Romans 7:5, 15-20, 23, 24.

76. Romans 3:9 ff.; 5:12 ff.

77. Romans 3:10-12; cf. also Psalms 14:1 f.; 53:1 f.

78. Romans 7:18-20.

79. Galatians 5:16-25.

80. Romans 12:1; I Corinthians 6:19, 20; I Thessalonians 4:3, 4; also I Corinthians 15:39.

81. The idea of evil is not to be discovered primarily in the use of the term σάρξ, but in the idea of salvation which calls for the use of the word.

82. Romans 7:24-8:2.

83. Galatians 4:4; Philippians 2:7; Romans 8:3.

84. Romans 5:18 ff.; II Corinthians 5:21.

85. II Corinthians 8:9; Philippians 2:6 f.

86. Philippians 2:8, 9.

87. I Corinthians 15:42 f.

88. I Corinthians 15:20.

89. Romans 8:11; I Corinthians 15.

90. Isaiah 4:2; 11:2.

91. Romans 8:9.

92. Galatians 5:25.

93. Cf. Romans 8:9-11; Galatians 4:6.

94. II Corinthians 3:17.

95. Galatians 1:16.

96. Galatians 2:20. Cf. Romans 8:10; Galatians 3:27; 4:6, 19.

97. II Corinthians 5:17; Ephesians 4:22-24.

98. Colossians 3:3; cf. also II Corinthians 3:18.

99. Romans 13:11.

100. I Corinthians 15:35 f.

101. Apocalypse of Baruch, chapters 50 and 51.

102. Romans 6:5-11; II Corinthians 3:18.

103. The Stoics at an early time taught that all things were from the eternal Logos, though far removed in many cases. Yet they sought the transforming power of the real Logos that the dross might be purged from their nature. The Stoic system finally adopted a bold dualism. Other explanations of the nature of the universe entertained the same variation of

belief. Paul just as readily acknowledged the divine origin of all things. (Romans 14:4; I Corinthians 10:26; Colossians 1:16), and at the same time used the dualism of evil and good natures.

104. Cf. Galatians 5:19-25.

105. II Corinthians 12:1 f.

106. See E. H. Zaugg: A Genetic Study of the Spirit-Phenomena in the New Testament. (Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, 1917), chapter 4.

107. Romans 10:8 f.; Galatians 4:6; Ephesians 3:17.

108. Bousset: Kyrios Christos, pp. 174-180.

109. Romans 3:22.

110. Romans 6:1 f.; I Corinthians 12:13; Colossians 2:12.

111. See Leitzmann's citations, among others, to Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum II, 2448, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, VI, 10, 234; XIII, 5708; XIV, 2112; also Lake: The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, p. 214.

112. I Corinthians 10:14 f.

113. I Corinthians 10:18 f.

114. I Corinthians 10:20, 21.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSFORMED QUEST OF HELLENISTIC CHRISTIANITY

1. For a detailed statement of the growth and expansion of Christianity, consult Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, II, pp. 89-306.

2. Cf. II Corinthians 12:7; Ephesians 6:12.

3. Matthew 12:29.

4. Mark 9:38; Acts 4:10; 8:9 f. (Simon seems to have been greatly impressed by the power of Jesus' name); 9:34. The longer conclusion of Mark lays particular stress upon the claim that believers will be able, among other wonders, to cast out demons, Mark 16:17.

5. Matthew 7:22.

6. Acts 19:13 ff.

7. "For many of our Christian people have healed a large number of demoniacs throughout the whole world, and also in your own city, exorcizing them in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate; yet all other exorcists, magicians, and dealers in drugs failed to heal such people. Yea, and such Christians continue still to heal them, by rendering the demons impotent and expelling them from the men whom they possessed." Justin Martyr: Apology II. 6. Cf. also Dialog 85.

8. Irenaeus: Heresies 2. 31. 2.

9. Cf. Tertullian: Apology, chapter 22 ff.

10. Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos, chapters 7-18.

11. For further discussion see Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I, pp. 125-146.

12. The imputation of magical power to Paul by Acts is not pertinent here. Acts 19:11, 12.

13. Cf. Luke 11:24-26.

14. Mark 5:25-34.

15. Mark 3:10; Luke 6:19.

16. Acts 1:8; cf. also Luke 24:49.

17. Cf. Matthew 18:10; Hebrews 1:7, 14; also Psalm 91:11; Tobit 5:4, 16; Luke 16:22; Acts 12:15; Revelation 1:20.

18. Hermas: Mandates 6, chapter 2:1-6.

19. Romans 12:1 f. Paul here adopts the typical Stoic attitude toward government.

20. I Corinthians 12:13; Romans 10:12; Galatians 3:28; Colossians 3:11.

21. Apocalypse of Peter, Barnabas (15); Hermas, Papias (Eusebius: Church History 3.39); Justin Martyr, (Dialog 80 f.); Irenaeus (Heresies 5. 33 ff.) Even in the Gospel of John, which has an especially bitter feeling toward the Jews, the earlier tradition of Jewish Christianity is not eliminated. "Salvation is from the Jews", chapter 4:22. In chapter 6:15 the inference is that some of Jesus' admirers sought to make him earthly king of the Jews.

22. John 18:33 f.

23. John 17:14-16.

24. Others than these entertained hopes of a Golden Age, but at this time, such a belief was not characteristic of Gentile religions as it had been in Judaism and primitive Christianity. Cf. Case: The Millenial Hope.

25. John 7:37-52; 10:23-39.

26. John 12:24, 32.

27. John 10:16.

28. John 3:16.

29. Philippians 3:20.

30. Hebrews 1:14; 4:16; 8:8 f.; 10:16 f.; 13:21.

31. Hebrews 10:29; 13:20.

32. Hebrews 7:25.

33. James 1:25; 2:8, 12.

34. James 1:27. Other New Testament books present Christian life in terms of law, though with varying degrees of emphasis.

35. Much of the philosophic as well as the religious speculation which was prevalent in the Mediterranean world was by no means of Greek origin. The influence of Oriental life was very marked after the decline of classic culture. The terms Graeco-Roman and Hellenistic are intended to indicate not the origin of any belief, but the whole complex in which many phases of life and thought of undifferentiated origins may be found.

36. I Corinthians 2:1 f. (The formal speech recorded in Acts 17, bears no convincing marks of being Pauline.)

37. I Corinthians 12:8, 9; cf. also Colossians 2:3, 9.

38. It should be noted that the metaphysics of Stoicism is similar in effect. The divine Logos is the ultimate source, from which emanations went out, which finally resulted in material creation. Both systems had dualistic tendencies which asserted themselves in time.

39. II Timothy 2:17, 18 refers to two teachers who said that the resurrection was already past. They probably were Gnostics who had come into contact with the church.

40. John 20:19-29.

41. John 1:14.

42. Ignatius: Trallians 9; Smyrnians 1-3.

43. Irenaeus: Heresies 5. 1, et passim.

44. John 3:36.

45. John 8:32; et passim.

46. John 1:10.

47. John 3:18.

48. John 5:25.

49. For further discussion of the relationship of the Fourth Gospel to Gnosticism, see E. F. Scott: The Fourth Gospel, its Purpose and Theology, particularly pp. 86 ff.

50. Cf. Justin Martyr: Dialog 1 ff.
51. John 3:3 f.
52. John 19:34.
53. John 6:26 f.
54. Ignatius: Ephesians 11.
55. Ignatius: Romans 7.
56. Justin Martyr: Apology 61; 66; Dialog 14.
57. Irenaeus: Heresies 1. 21. 1.
58. Irenaeus: Heresies 5. 2. 2 and 3.
59. See Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, II, pp. 33-84.
60. Cf. also Justin Martyr: Dialog, chapter 1 f.